

Towards More Effective Urban Planning in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

by

Samer Sami O Baesse

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Urban Planning

February 2012

RMIT University, Melbourne

School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning

DECLARATION

'I, Samer Sami O Baesse, declare that the PhD thesis entitled (Towards more effective urban planning in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia) is no more than 90,000 words in length, including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work'.

Signature

Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the help of the almighty Allah with everything, in addition to the guidance, support and encouragement of my family, relatives and many friends, I would not have finished this PhD thesis. I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Allah, and then to my principal supervisor, Dr John Jackson, School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, RMIT University, who contributed so much effort over almost five years assisting me to complete my thesis. I would also like to thank Dr Nicole Pepperell, my second supervisor, who helped through many difficulties in my research journey. Without Dr Jackson and Dr Pepperell's guidance through the most wonderful and most difficult of times, I could not have finished this work. Their great personalities, generosity with time and ideas, plus their wisdom and experience, helped me to successfully complete my thesis. I would like to thank them for all their support and especially for the patience that they showed me.

I would like to thank all my friends who have contributed to and helped me with this thesis. A special thanks to those from Saudi Arabia who gave me their valuable time, experience and insights. Also, a special thanks to all my colleagues in the Urban and Regional Planning Department in the Faculty of Environmental Design, King Abdulaziz University, who encouraged me to complete my PhD. A special thanks to Dr Abdulmajeed Dagostani and Dr Waleed Abdulaal who made a great effort in helping me collect data for the research. Finally, great thanks to my parents, brother, sister, wife and son for their help and support during my study, especially while I was in Australia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	1
Chapter 1: Introduction	2
1.1 Background information on Jeddah	2
1.2 Planning issues.....	5
1.3 Urban governance	8
1.4 The research question and interest.....	9
1.5 Historical method.....	10
1.6 Literature review	12
1.7 Interview method	13
1.8 Thesis structure	17
Chapter 2: Urban development and planning in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah	19
2.1 Introduction.....	19
2.2 Economic and demographic changes in Saudi Arabia and in Jeddah: their impact on government and planning arrangements	20
2.3 Urbanisation: a global issue.....	22
2.4 Urbanisation in Saudi Arabia.....	24
2.5 Urban planning and development in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah	29
2.5.1 <i>Saudi Arabia’s development</i>	29
2.5.1.1 <i>The foundation stage</i>	29
2.5.1.2 <i>The building stage</i>	31
2.5.1.3 <i>The management stage</i>	32
2.5.2 <i>Jeddah’s development</i>	36
2.5.2.1 <i>Jeddah in pre-Saudi times</i>	36
2.5.2.2 <i>Jeddah as part of Saudi Arabia</i>	38
2.6 The Saudi planning context	46
2.6.1 <i>Government structure: national and regional levels</i>	47
2.6.2 <i>The administrative context of planning</i>	50
2.6.3 <i>Local government structure</i>	50
2.7 Jeddah today.....	52
2.8 Chapter overview	60
Chapter 3: Urban planning in Jeddah.....	61
3.1 Introduction.....	61
3.2 Planning development in Jeddah	62
3.3 Jeddah’s urban plans.....	70
3.3.1 <i>Dr Makhlouf’s plan of 1963</i>	70
3.3.2 <i>RMJM’s plan of 1973</i>	72
3.3.3 <i>SJI/SC’s plan of 1978</i>	75
3.3.4 <i>Al Somat’s plan of 1987</i>	76
3.3.5 <i>Al Beea’s plan of 2005</i>	77
3.4 Overall analysis.....	80
3.5 Chapter summary	90
Chapter 4: Governance and planning – a literature review	92
4.1 Introduction.....	92

4.2 Governance: a brief overview	94
4.3 Urban governance and planning	95
4.4 Government and governance	99
4.5 Why governance is important to planning	103
4.6 Urban governance and strategic planning	105
4.7 Governance, strategic planning and adapting to rapid change	107
4.8 Governance in different places and times	111
4.9 Governance, strategic planning and Saudi Arabia	113
Chapter 5: Community-oriented agencies in Saudi Arabia, with specific reference to the Jeddah Municipal Council	116
5.1 Introduction	116
5.2 National level	116
5.2.1 <i>The Consultative Council: ‘Majlis Al-Shura’</i>	117
5.3 The regional level	124
5.3.1 <i>The Provincial Council or ‘Majlis Al-Mantiqah’</i>	124
5.4 The local level	126
5.4.1 <i>The ‘Mohafazah’ Council</i>	126
5.4.2 <i>District centres</i>	127
5.4.3 <i>The municipal council</i>	128
5.5 Conclusion	133
Chapter 6: Research method and data analysis	135
6.1 Introduction	135
6.2 Research method	137
6.3 Pre-municipal council phase (the past)	152
6.3.1 <i>Analysis (the past)</i>	154
6.3.1.1 <i>Coordination</i>	157
6.3.1.2 <i>Participation</i>	162
6.3.1.3 <i>Over-centralisation</i>	168
6.3.1.4 <i>Comprehensiveness</i>	172
6.3.1.5 <i>High urbanisation rate</i>	174
6.3.1.6 <i>Continuity and flexibility</i>	177
6.3.1.7 <i>Funding and budgeting</i>	184
6.3.1.8 <i>Information</i>	187
6.3.1.9 <i>Human resources</i>	191
6.4 The municipal council phase (the present)	194
6.4.1 <i>Analysis (the present)</i>	196
6.4.1.1 <i>Coordination</i>	200
6.4.1.2 <i>Participation</i>	202
6.4.1.3 <i>Centralisation</i>	203
6.4.1.4 <i>Comprehensiveness</i>	204
6.4.1.5 <i>Continuity and flexibility</i>	205
6.4.1.6 <i>Funding and budgeting</i>	208
6.4.1.7 <i>Information</i>	209
6.4.1.8 <i>Conflicts of authority</i>	210
6.5 The post-council stage (the future)	211
6.5.1 <i>Analysis (the future)</i>	212

6.5.1.1	<i>Coordination</i>	212
6.5.1.2	<i>Participation</i>	217
6.5.1.3	<i>Decentralisation</i>	220
6.5.1.4	<i>Continuity and flexibility</i>	223
6.5.1.5	<i>Funds and budgeting</i>	225
6.5.1.6	<i>Human resources</i>	227
6.5.1.7	<i>Information</i>	228
6.5.1.8	<i>Comprehensiveness</i>	230
6.6	Municipal Council internal affairs	232
6.6.1	<i>The Municipal Council Act and Regulations</i>	232
6.6.2	<i>Participating in the decision-making process</i>	233
6.6.3	<i>Authority</i>	234
6.6.4	<i>Human resources</i>	235
6.6.5	<i>Funding</i>	236
6.7	Priorities	238
6.7.1	<i>The past</i>	240
6.7.2	<i>The present</i>	241
6.7.3	<i>The future</i>	242
6.8	Conclusion	242
Chapter 7:	Discussion and recommendations	244
7.1	Introduction	244
7.2	Restatement and refinement of the theoretical position	246
7.3	A Saudi perspective	251
7.4	Discussion	252
7.4.1	<i>Introduction</i>	252
7.4.2	<i>Approaches to solutions</i>	252
7.5	Applications	280
7.5.1	<i>A more sustainable Jeddah</i>	280
7.5.2	<i>The research as a case study</i>	282
7.6	Conclusion	283
	GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS	284
	References	285

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2-1:	Population change of 7 Saudi cities, 1974–1992	21
Table 2-2:	UN: Projected population in selected Saudi cities, 2010–2025	21
Table 2-3	The urban growth of Jeddah	44
Table 3-1:	Evaluation and comparison of Jeddah’s planners	83
Table 4-1:	Government and governance contrasted	94
Table 6-1:	Responses to the letter of invitation to participate in the research	130
Table 6-2:	Frequency analysis	138
Table 6-3:	Themes ranking	226
Table 6-4:	Ranking’s weight	226
Table 7-1:	Possible benefits of the suggested changes in terms of the themes discussed in Chapter 6	247
Table 7-2:	Some of the proposed changes by the metropolitan board arrangements and their major benefits or improvements to some of the themes discussed in Chapter 6	259

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1:	Jeddah's location Source: (Wikipedia 2009)	2
Figure 1-2:	Jeddah's urban growth along the coastline	4
Figure 2-1:	Spatial distribution of urban centres in Saudi Arabia	25
Figure 2-2:	The development of government understanding of the importance of urban planning	35
Figure 2-3:	The urban growth of Jeddah	45
Figure 2-4:	Levels of government in Saudi Arabia	48
Figure 2-5:	Map showing the 13 provinces in SA	49
Figure 2-6:	A brief overview of the structure of Jeddah's municipality (created by the author)	51
Figure 2-7:	The high-density pattern of the unplanned settlements in Jeddah	59
Figure 5.1:	The Consultative Council of the KSA, Parliamentary Practice, translated	111
Figure 7.1:	Diagram shows the existing governance arrangements (Option 1a)	244
Figure 7.2:	Diagram shows the procedural local governance rearrangements (Option 1b, the reformed MC)	245
Figure 7.3:	Diagram shows the middle level local governance rearrangements with a modified role for the MC (Option 2a)	262
Figure 7.4:	Diagram shows the middle level local governance rearrangements without the MC. The MC role would be covered within the responsibilities of the Metropolitan Authority (Option 2b)	263

LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 2.1:	A view of Jedah in 1940	38
Picture 2.2:	Raw sewage discharge at the sewage lake east of Jeddah	53
Picture 2.3:	The sewage lake east of Jeddah, which creates an environmental hazard	54
Picture 2.4:	The lack of a drainage network, which affects the city almost every year in the rainy season	55
Picture 2.5:	The lack of a drainage network, which affects the city almost every year in the rainy season	56
Picture 2.6:	The problem of traffic in Jeddah	56
Picture 2.7:	The water taucks used in Jeddah	58

Abstract

Jeddah, the second largest city in Saudi Arabia, suffers from inadequate infrastructure and urban services, along with extensive illegal development. This research is interested in investigating whether more effective urban planning could improve the situation. The research investigations started with a critical review of the urban plans made for Jeddah over the years. The related literature review suggested that urban governance arrangements greatly influence urban planning's effectiveness. On that basis, this research tests whether the recent establishment of the municipal council could contribute to solving Jeddah's physical and social problems.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter is designed to give the reader an overview of the thesis and the methods of research used, the later chapters expanding on the themes summarised here.

1.1 Background information on Jeddah

Jeddah is the second largest city in Saudi Arabia and the major urban centre of the western region. Jeddah's seaport handles the majority of Saudi Arabian commercial traffic and is the largest seaport on the Red Sea.



Figure 1-1: Jeddah's location
Source: (Wikipedia 2009)

Jeddah's history goes back to 500 BC. It was an ancient trading port on the edge of the Red Sea and, until 1947, was dominated by a wall that circled an area of no more than one square kilometre (km²). The old centre of the city still has many historical buildings of traditional design.

Now Jeddah is Saudi Arabia's main freight terminal and the location of one of the largest airports in the world, the King Abdul Aziz Airport, destined to accommodate up to 80 million passengers each year by 2035 (Tomlinson 2007). It is the gateway for Islamic pilgrims on hajj to the holy cities of Makkah and Al Madinah, hence the need for an immense airport terminal. This dual role of serving both business and religion suits Jeddah very well; in fact, the city's geographical location places it at the heart of the region covered by the Middle East and North Africa, with all the capital cities in this region within two hours' flying time.

The western region of Saudi Arabia is a mountainous area except for the coastal plain bordering the Red Sea where Jeddah is located. The climate is arid, with temperatures ranging from 15° to 25° Celsius (C) in winter and reaching over 40° C in summer. The city's topography, hills on the east and the Red Sea on the west, directs urban growth, with the built-up area stretching mainly in a north-south direction along the coastline.

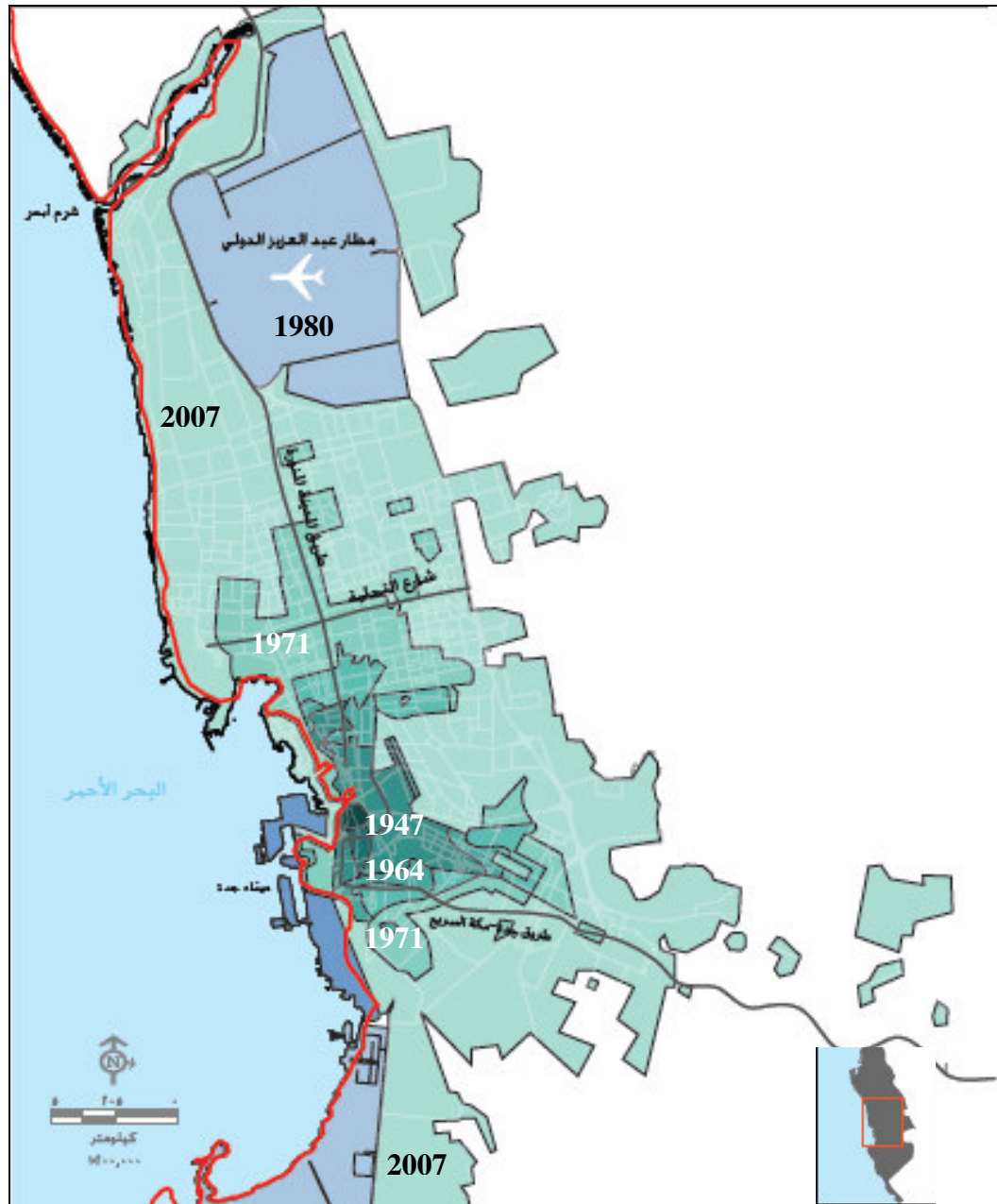


Figure 1-2: Jeddah's urban growth along the coastline
 Source: (Municipality 2009, p. 16)

Popular Saudi and foreign opinion regard Jeddah as the most liberal and cosmopolitan of Saudi cities due to its historic role as a port that receives millions of pilgrims of different ethnicities and backgrounds, some of whom remain to become residents of the city. Adding to the traditional diversity, the oil boom of the past 50 years

has brought hundreds of thousands of working immigrants from Muslim and non-Muslim countries. This makes life in Jeddah different from many cities in Saudi Arabia, its culture being more eclectic in nature.

The old walled city gave way to a modern metropolis only in the last half-century, with Jeddah's confining coral walls being finally removed for the city's expansion in 1947 (Daghestani 1993, p. 4). Now the modern city has expanded rapidly, mainly to the north along the Red Sea coastline, reaching some 27 km from the old city centre. Jeddah currently covers an area of 1,200 km². Most of this development occurred after 1925 when Jeddah became a part of the Saudi Kingdom. Only 30,000 or so people were living in the city at that time; now the city's population stands at over 3.4 million (Municipality 2004).

1.2 Planning issues

However, this recent and overwhelming development comes at a cost, as the city lacks services and infrastructure. Jeddah's rapid development has posed particular challenges for the planning of the city, including 'uncontrolled developments in the fringes, inadequate urban services, spiralling land prices and construction costs, the proliferation of slums, and the degraded quality of the urban environment' (Mandeli 2008, p. 512).

Compounding these challenges is the complexity of Jeddah's governance arrangements, which has seen four traditional land use blueprint plans drawn up for the

city since 1962, with each plan in turn being overtaken by the rapid rate of the city's development. In Jeddah, only 40% of households live in houses with sewage services, the unemployment rate is 11%, and the city does not have a public transport system (Municipality 2007). When a city like Jeddah, in an oil-rich kingdom, is described as lacking in services and infrastructure, there must be something wrong.

By taking the perspective that urban planning is an institutional process that shapes and manages cities' built form, this research analyses Jeddah's current urban problems as outputs of its planning. Past and present urban planning processes appear to have failed to adequately manage the city's growth. Many authors believe that urban planning has failed in delivering desirable outputs in Jeddah and Saudi Arabia in general (Alkhalidy 2009; Mandeli 2008; Rahmaan 2003). It is argued here that urban planning in Jeddah has failed to provide urban services and infrastructure at standards that ensure appropriate living environments for residents. The urban planning process has failed to deliver outcomes that match the size of the city's budget. The current planning regime has delivered outcomes that are inappropriate and inadequate physically, environmentally, economically and socially. This indicates that the urban planning and development process in Jeddah is ineffective in the sense that it has failed to deliver adequate living conditions for its residents. This thesis will also argue, however, that a large part of the reason for this ineffectiveness relates to the failure to integrate local expertise, knowledge, and governance systems into Jeddah's planning process. Instead, as this thesis will discuss in Chapters 2 and 3, Jeddah's planning process has recurrently been driven by blueprint plans developed by a series of overseas experts who lacked

sufficient local knowledge of Jeddah's distinctive culture. Involved for only brief periods of time, these outside experts had little choice but to develop static 'blueprint' plans that were not sufficiently flexible to address the planning needs generated by Jeddah's extraordinary rate of growth. What is needed instead, as this thesis will attempt to demonstrate, is a more flexible, contextually-sensitive, responsive system for planning governance that does not rely solely on external ideas, but instead draws on local skills, capacities, and local knowledge. Within this framework, this thesis investigates the implications of recent changes in Jeddah's governance structure – and, in particular, the introduction of new municipal councils – for the development of a more responsive and effective planning system in Jeddah.

Thus this study is motivated by the desire to learn whether there is some way to develop a better approach to urban planning in Jeddah, one that is more appropriate to the reality of the development environment that Jeddah faces. The development environment in Jeddah suggests that the problem will not be resolved by drawing up yet another static traditional blueprint plan. Instead, as will be demonstrated in the chapters to come, what is needed is a planning system that is directly linked to a governance system that is more responsive to changes in the internal and external environment.

1.3 Urban governance

Even though Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy, with its ministers and executives appointed by the King, in October 2003 a new element was added to the urban planning process when the national government called for the establishment of 178 municipal councils across the kingdom, including Jeddah. This involved the first election in the modern history of the kingdom. Jeddah now has a municipal council, with 14 members, half of them elected members.

The introduction of a municipal council is an important addition to the planning process. It allows for some degree of public participation in the urban planning process for the first time in the modern history of the city as elected municipal council members represent the public. The municipal council brings to urban governance a level of participation in the decision-making process that was not previously available. The new municipal council's tasks include reviewing the municipality's budget and projects, being involved in the decision-making process, and evaluating the municipality's performance. A full discussion of the municipal council's role is given in Chapter 5.

This recent governance change provides a small-scale 'natural experiment' (Charlton 2004, p. 712), an observational study in which it is possible to investigate whether, and to what degree, changes in governance structure might help achieve better planning outcomes, in this case Jeddah. This study therefore is designed to take advantage of the opportunity to collect original empirical data on the impact of recent governance changes on the ground. Also, the aim of this study is to investigate if this

change in Jeddah's governance will facilitate a more effective planning process; if not, what is needed to make the governance and planning of Jeddah more effective, as outlined earlier.

The researcher is not only trying to write a theoretically informed thesis but one that might inform better planning practices in Jeddah and Saudi Arabia in general. There is very little serious work on the urban planning system and its operation in Jeddah and Saudi Arabia. While written to be sensitive to the Saudi situation – its culture, values and political situation – it also written with an eye to the practising planner: to give them ideas and methods that they can use in their daily practice.

1.4 The research question and interest

From the motivations explained above, the research is concerned with investigating the reasons behind the decrease in living standards in Jeddah and confirming whether the urban governance setting or the plans made for the city are the reasons for this decrease. In the first part of the research the interest is to review the previous urban plans made for Jeddah and to analyse the process behind them to see what was wrong with these plans that did not allow them to achieve their goals.

The second part of the research aims to take the review of the plans further to be investigated in a series of interviews with selected participants to discuss in depth the reasons for the decrease of living standards in Jeddah by asking the participants their opinions regarding the reasons behind this decrease. Also investigated will be the

question of how urban planning in Jeddah could become more effective in improving the living conditions and achieving a better future for Jeddah residents. The next section introduces the method of this research in addressing the research interests in solving the ineffectiveness of urban planning.

1.5 Historical method

To investigate the potential impact of the new governance structure on planning outcomes in Jeddah, we need first to establish the problems generated by earlier traditional ‘blueprint’ approaches to urban planning. To do this, a wide range of available documentary sources has been collected and analysed, including planning documents for all the five plans developed for the city: Dr A Makhoulouf’s Plan of 1963 (Makhoulouf 1985); the Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall Plan (RMJM) of 1973; the Sert Jackson International/Saudi Consults’ (SJI/Sc) Plan of 1978; the Al Somat Plan of 1987; and the Albeea Consultants’ Structure Plan of 2005. While some of these documents have been the subject of limited academic analysis, this historical survey presents a much fuller analysis of the history of Jeddah’s planning process, and the limitations of that process to date.

The documents relating to these plans are critically reviewed here. However, they are few in number and were hard to locate. While an effort was made to locate them in public and university libraries and the Jeddah municipal archives, the researcher had to use his social networks in Jeddah to approach colleagues and others with an interest in these plans to find more documentation. These personal contacts were vital to the success

of this research – much of the data collected here would otherwise have been very difficult to obtain.

In reviewing the documentary sources, the researcher was guided by the following question: (w)hy did the plans fail to deliver the outcomes that they promised? This critical review focuses on the plans' objectives, preparation, and implementation rather than their design and physical aspects. What is important for this research is the process of producing and implementing plans as a reflection of urban planning practice in Jeddah. Therefore, the focus was on the progressive development of these plans more than their physical aspects. The research critically reviews the development stages of each plan. This includes a review of the pre-plan or plan preparation stage, the plan itself, and the post-plan stage or the plan's implementation.

In Chapter 3 the plans are described in historic sequence emphasising the particular political and economic circumstances that prevailed at the time. Finally, an overall evaluation of the plans is made using criteria appropriate to the Saudi situation. Regard was given to selecting evaluation criteria to which practising planners could relate and actually use. No ideal set of criteria was found in the literature, but the general criteria set out by Baer (1997) were adapted and developed to suit the Saudi and Jeddah situation, and the research purposes.

1.6 Literature review

The historical critical review of Jeddah's planning documents suggested that the planning of Jeddah needs better coordination, more flexibility, greater continuity, a sense of comprehensiveness and people's greater participation in the planning system. These cannot be achieved through the blueprint traditional land use planning approach and it is suggested that there might be problems with the way in which this form of static planning interacts with the city's and the country's governance structures, within which Jeddah's planning processes sit. Therefore, there was a need to look at the literature on spatial planning and urban governance. This task is undertaken in Chapter 4, which looks at Rakodi's (2001) work where the issue of urban planning and governance in developing countries is discussed, as well as the work of local authors, such as Mandieli (2008), who provides a Saudi perspective. Rakodi argues that 'traditional approaches to land use planning in developing countries have proved of limited value' and 'attention must concentrate on governance arrangements, politics and the process of decision making. Without this, spatial development plans are unlikely to be any more useful than in the past' (p. 209). Mandieli, in turn, highlighted the need for a better urban planning system in Jeddah to allow all stakeholders to participate, and he believes that 'for such participation to be ultimately effective, new institutional arrangements are required in order to define the extent of public involvement in public policy formulation and implementation' (p. 20).

This review of the planning literature suggests that effective urban planning is dependent on appropriate urban governance arrangements, and without their

consideration, the objectives of spatial plans are unlikely to be realised. The literature review leaves the reader with the question: Can the recent governance changes assist in the improvement of Jeddah's urban planning system?

1.7 Interview method

Historical analysis and a review of the literature are suggestive of why Jeddah's past planning system has been unable to fully manage the challenges posed by Jeddah's rapid development. Both the literature review and the historical analysis highlight the need to look at the governance system. Documentary sources, however, cannot be expected to capture any changes in Jeddah's planning system generated by the municipal council as it is too recent a development.

To confirm the findings of the past plans, the critical review, and the argument raised by the urban governance literature, and to capture the impacts of the recent change in the governance system, a series of interviews was therefore conducted with 17 key stakeholders associated with the new council, including three elected and four appointed representatives, five key academics, and five other senior figures involved with urban planning in Jeddah.

These 17 participants were carefully selected to provide the study with a wide range of perspectives in relation to the research questions and interests. Jeddah municipality's senior planners represent the perspective of professionals who practise urban planning and experience the planning process from the 'inside'. Academics

selected include those who have practical experience in the area of urban planning in Jeddah as well as purely academic knowledge. Such dual backgrounds enable them to link their practical experience to urban planning theories and literature and so enrich this research. The other category in the sample, public representatives, was selected from appointed and elected members of Jeddah Municipal Council. This last group represents both a public perspective, as public representatives, and an 'experience' perspective, to test the impact of the new municipal council on the city's planning process.

Most of the participants in the study were difficult to gain access to, most of them being in high positions in government and the private sector, and very busy managing more than one organisation. Considerable effort was made to reach these participants. Six months of preparatory work was required in order to initiate contact, negotiate with the gatekeepers who control access to some of these stakeholders, and arrange meetings with the stakeholders themselves. This preparatory work was greatly assisted by the fact that the researcher has worked for both government and the private sector: this helped facilitate access to these participants who might otherwise be difficult for an outside researcher to access. As a result, the study has been able to generate significant original primary data on the consequences of recent changes in the governance structure for urban planning in Jeddah, changes that have not previously been the subject of academic research.

Through these interviews, the researcher sought analytical information about Jeddah's urban planning in the past, currently, and in the future. In order to provide

interviewees with sufficient time to discuss and analyse what they considered to be the problems and ways to solve them, a semi-structured interview format was used. Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to ask a number of predetermined questions while engaging in issues raised by the interviewee (May 2001, p. 123; Wengraf 2001). Because of the varied nature of the interviewees, the interviews were designed to suit specific circumstances. For example, the Mayor of Jeddah, like a few other participants, had a very limited time to participate in the study, so a shorter interview format was used. Other interviews, especially those with academic participants, went for a longer time covering various topics which enriched the study with more conceptual and contextual information.

The interviews were held in two stages. The first stage occurred in February 2009 and took the form of a semi-structured, open-ended discussion of the history, development and future of urban planning in Jeddah. In February 2010 came the second stage. Its aim was to double check the data from the first stage and to ask follow-up questions relating to how interviewees prioritise the issues raised in the first interviews.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed in Arabic. The final result was 46.5 hours of interview data, yielding 378 pages of transcribed data. The responses were organised into three major themes: historic, present and future. To analyse this rich qualitative data, the researcher used the grounded theory technique of reviewing the data to see what themes emerge and then went back to each interview to see how each participant spoke on these themes, developing a coding system for interview responses

that emerged from the data itself (Charmaz 2006, 2009; Corbin & Strauss 1990; Glaser & Strauss 1979; Sharan 2002). The second interview was used to follow up with participants any themes they did not mention spontaneously in their first interview, a recognised qualitative research technique (Hurmerinta-Poltomaki & Nummela 2004; Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). In this way, information on every theme and sub-theme from every participant was obtained.

In order to find out what participants think about Jeddah's past urban planning history, questions such as the following were posed:

- What is your opinion of the old urban planning system/process in Jeddah?
- What were the negatives and positives of the old system/process?

To find out what a respondent thought about the current situation, they were asked:

- What is your opinion on the current system/process?

and

- What difference has the new municipal council made, if any?

Regarding the future, questions such as '(h)ow could the role of the municipal council be improved?' were asked.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the questionnaire analysis. Chapter 7 discusses the documentary and interview findings against the academic literature with a focus on

making recommendations to improve Jeddah's planning and governance systems, improvements implementable both in the near future and in the middle term.

1.8 Thesis structure

In summary, the thesis is laid out as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Saudi Arabia and Jeddah's urban development

Provides a background to urban development and the high urbanisation rate in Saudi Arabia, particularly Jeddah, and the resultant challenges to planning and managing urban development.

Chapter 3: Urban planning in Jeddah

Discusses administrative arrangements and changes and the attempts government has made to control and manage urban development. Past urban plans for Jeddah are reviewed and evaluated.

Chapter 4: Governance and planning – a literature review

This chapter presents a review of the literature on urban governance and spatial planning. It discusses the links between them and it is argued that for spatial planning to be effective then appropriate urban governance arrangements are necessary. It notes the lack of local governance research in Jeddah.

Chapter 5: The municipal council

This chapter presents and describes the different public agencies at the national, regional and local level that theoretically allow the public to be involved in the decision-making processes of the country. There is a focus on the introduction of the municipal councils, a major interest of this thesis.

Chapter 6: Research method and data analysis

This chapter introduces in more detail the interview research method used and presents the interview findings and analysis.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This chapter centres on the researcher's discussion of his empirical findings and his recommendations to improve the effectiveness of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah. It notes the limitations of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Urban development and planning in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah

2.1 Introduction

Jeddah, the main port of Saudi Arabia on the Red Sea, is one of the most ancient settlements in the country (Daghistani, AI 1993). Its recorded urban history as a fishing town goes back 2500 years to the period before Islam (Pesce 1974) Located on traditional trade routes between the Mediterranean Sea and southern Asia, it is also the gateway to the historical cities of Makkah and Al-Madinah (Abdu, Salagoor & AL-Harigi 2002; Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 1991).

In the last 50 years Jeddah has witnessed a high growth rate because of the economic boom based on oil exports and the government's interest in developing this city. Within this period the city population increased from 30,000 in 1940 to more than 600,000 in 1974 (MOF 1992). This high rate of growth has resulted in many urban problems. Jeddah has failed to face up to the challenge of this rate of high urbanisation; it is not a physically, socially, environmentally and economically sustainable city.

This rapid development in Jeddah is a challenge for the city's urban planners, as the metropolis experiences 'uncontrolled developments on the fringes, inadequate urban services, spiralling land prices and construction costs, the proliferation of slums, and the degraded quality of the urban environment' (Mandeli 2008, p. 512).

Planners in Jeddah must also manage a multitude of conflicting priorities: the need for considered and orderly urban development against population pressures, high but variable rates of urban development, and a considerable short-term influx of pilgrims for the annual hajj. Further complicating the planner's task, the city's administrators have not provided civic services and infrastructure in a way that can ensure appropriate living environments for Jeddah's expanding population (Abu-Rizaiza 2000; Bayumi et al. 2000; Daghistani, A 1991; Mandeli 2008; Roobal et al. 1992; Vincent 2003). For these issues to be effectively addressed it is argued that superior governance and planning perspectives must be taken up.

2.2 Economic and demographic changes in Saudi Arabia and in Jeddah: their impact on government and planning arrangements

Saudi Arabia is one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in the world (Choguill 2007) It has experienced a vast transformation from a mostly rural and nomadic society to one of the most urbanised in a period of less than half a century. For example, Jeddah, the second largest city in the kingdom, experienced an average annual rate of population growth of 9.5% in the period from 1947 to 1987, peaking at 11% between 1947 and 1961 (Daghistani, A 1991) . To further emphasise the point, Table 2-1 shows the population change in seven major cities in Saudi Arabia between 1974 and 1992, while Table 2-2 shows the actual and projected urbanisation rates in selected Saudi cities between 2010 and 2025. These figures clearly show how important the challenge of urban planning and management is for the government and people of Saudi Arabia.

City	Annual growth rate (%)	Absolute change in population
Riyadh	+7.8	+2,110,256
Jeddah	+7.1	+1,485,147
Makkah	+5.2	+589,896
Medina	+6.1	+410,109
Dammam	+7.2	+453,477
Taif	+2.3	+211,264
Tabuk	+7.4	+217,730

Table 2-1: Population change of 7 Saudi cities, 1974–1992

Source: Population census, cited in Alkhedheiri (2002, p. 82) and cited in (Choguill 2007)

City	2010 thousands	2020 thousands	2025 thousands
Riyadh	4,856	5,866	6,275
Jeddah	3,239	3,906	4,190
Makkah	1,486	1,806	1,948

Table 2-2 UN: Projected population in selected Saudi cities, 2010–2025

Source: United Nations (2008, p. 243)

Choguill (2007) connected most Saudi Arabian cities' urban problems to the impact of this high rate of urbanisation, stating, '(a)ny time that urbanization occurs at such a rate, problems arise that require solution' (Choguill 2007, p. 1). Moreover, other authors (Al-Hathloul, S. & Abdel Rahman 2003; Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004) have linked the urban problems of Saudi Arabian cities to the country's massive and sudden urbanisation. As these authors point out, high urbanisation rates will bring in their train

demands for housing and social and physical infrastructure that may be difficult to supply in the short term. These short-term problems become long-term problems as the city is involved in a continual effort to catch up, while trying to produce a modicum of social control over the other ingredients that make up a modern city.

2.3 Urbanisation: a global issue

Rapid urbanisation has affected not only Saudi Arabia but most developing countries around the world. In fact, the 2005 Revision of the UN World Urbanization Prospects Report (UN 2005) described the 20th century as witnessing ‘the rapid urbanization of the world’s population’ (p. 1). The global proportion of the urban population rose dramatically from 13% (220 million) in 1900 to 29% (732 million) in 1950 and to 49% (3.2 billion) in 2005. The same report projected that the figure is likely to rise to 60% (4.9 billion) by 2030. Moreover, the UN-HABITAT 2008 Annual Report predicts that, for the first time in history, sometime in the middle of 2007, the majority of people worldwide would be living in towns or cities; this is referred to as the arrival of the ‘Urban Millennium’. The report predicted that around 93% of urban growth would occur in Asia and Africa, and to a lesser extent in Latin America and the Caribbean. Eventually, in 2050, over 6 billion people, two-thirds of humanity, will be living in towns and cities. In a very real sense the challenges of urbanisation, along with climate change, will be the 21st century’s great task: how to create more humane urban development patterns around the world.

The standard narrative among economists and historians is that urbanisation is the natural result of the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, which, by centralising economic activity in factories and creating the technology and commodities that formed the basis of consumer society, stimulated the movement of people from rural to urban areas (Birch & Wachter 2011). Such migration was due to the relative lack of opportunities for advancement in the agricultural sector and the opportunity to improve one's living standards in the factories, shops, and commercial life of the city. Even those who were content with rural life were, to a great extent, forced to move as mechanised agriculture revolutionised the cultivation of crops and the raising of livestock, thus paring back the number of labourers needed for farming, and driving smallholders into bankruptcy or the sale of their land. However, urbanisation rates vary according to local circumstances.

It is at the local level that the process of developing and managing urban areas is most intensely felt; and it is also here that the task of making urban spaces more liveable presents the most difficult challenges for authorities (Birch & Wachter 2011). To put it simply, the root of the difficulty lies in the disparity between the increase in the rate of demand for urban public services and infrastructure and the ability of city managers to coordinate to deliver them.

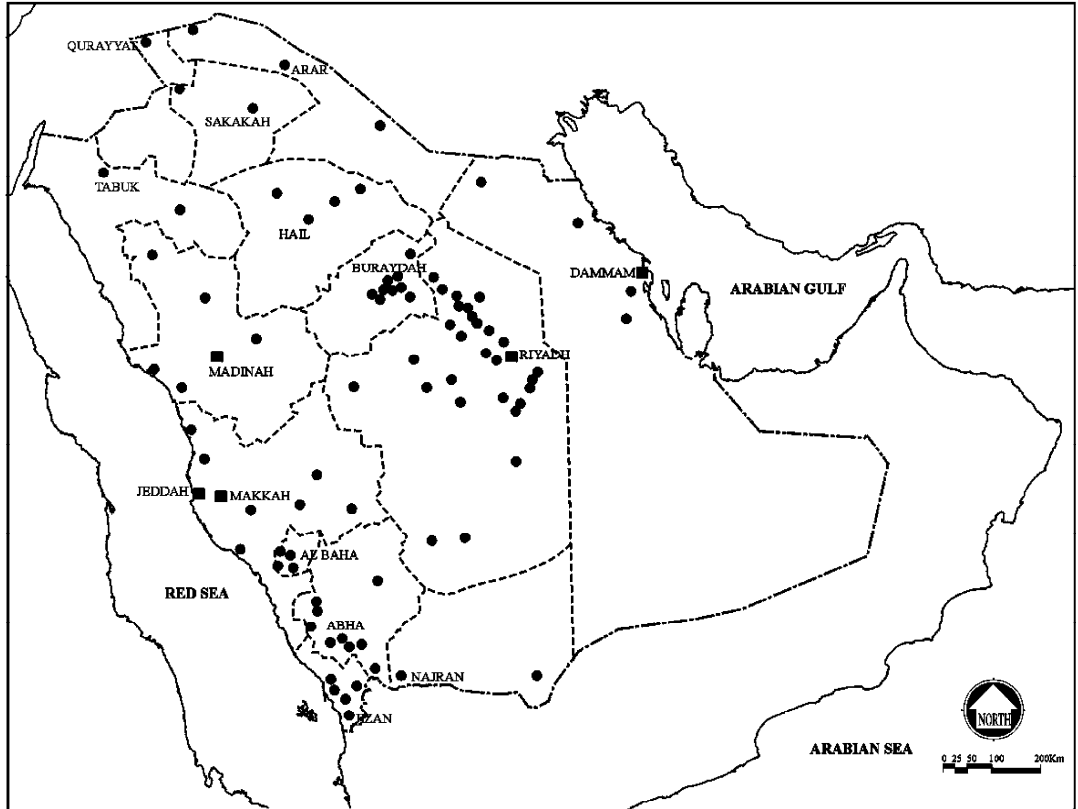
Added to this is the fact that rapid urbanisation has made it difficult not only to manage urban areas around the world but also to plan these urban areas, both short and long term. In fact, the impact of urbanisation has challenged the urban planning

profession to rethink its theories and mechanisms regarding planning systems designed to cope with both rapid and sometimes unexpected changes associated with high urbanisation rates, all of which must be accomplished within a comprehensive vision of what is best for the entire urban locale.

For example, these challenges involve an understanding of ecology. A local level challenge in Jeddah involves making linkages between rapid urbanisation and environmental issues, such as sustainability, natural resources and biodiversity (Bazoglu 2008)

2.4 Urbanisation in Saudi Arabia

The Saudi Arabian population lives in settlements ranging from metropolises of over two million inhabitants to villages consisting of a few houses (MOF 1992). The country has a fairly scattered settlement pattern, with the highest village density in the southwest (Fig. 2-1), the Nafud desert in the north, and the 'Empty Quarter' of Rub-al-Khali in the southeast being largely devoid of any settlement. The gross density for the whole country is 8 persons/km², suggesting a thinly populated country (Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004). In 1983 the government recognised 10,365 rural settlements and 343 urban settlements (MOF 1992). Of the latter, 294 have populations of less than 25,000 and only two, Riyadh and Jeddah, have populations of more than 2 million, while the population of the remaining 47 urban settlements ranges between 25,000 and 1.5 million (MOF 1992).



LEGEND :
MAJOR CENTRES ■ **MEDIUM & SMALL CENTRES** ● **EMIRATE BOUNDARY** - - - - -

Figure 2-1: Spatial distribution of urban centres in Saudi Arabia
 (Source: Al-Hathloul and Mughal, 2004, p. 610)

The percentage of urban dwellers in the national population increased from 48.7% in 1970 to 77.3% in 1990 (Al-Hathloul, S. & Abdel Rahman 2003). In the period 1970–1986, the average annual growth rates for Saudi cities were generally more than 6.4% (Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004), an extraordinary rate of growth that, even under the best of circumstances, would create unusual demands for housing, commercial, industrial and other land uses. As a consequence, in the opinion of many researchers, most of the urban problems of Saudi cities can be traced back to sheer quantitative growth. However, urbanisation is not simply a ‘natural’ phenomenon as Choguill (2007) and Al-Hathloul

and Mughal (2004) have argued; this high urbanisation rate was mostly a result of urban policies the government implemented during this period, such as the land grant policy and liberal interest-free loans. These policies caused the massive expansion of cities and towns all over the country, and especially inflated the size of the major cities, Riyadh, Jeddah, and Dammam. In the name of these policies, the government distributed hundreds of thousands of residential plots free of cost to the general public. Moreover, the construction component of housing was largely funded through the advance of interest-free loans by the government; a total of 550,532 were financed under this program up to December 1996 (REDF 1998).

Along with these government programs, Choguill (2007) highlighted three other main reasons for the vast influx of migrants to Saudi cities. Firstly, there was the *hijar* program, which aimed at the permanent settling of the Saudi nomad population. This was originally initiated by King Abdulaziz in 1912, but it only really began to pick up speed once Saudi Arabia started modernising. Modernisation is connected to the second reason, the second Saudi oil boom. This lasted roughly from 1974 to 1986 and turned the kingdom into one of the world's richest countries. The ensuing sudden opulence brought with it a massive change in the Saudi lifestyle, lifting the material expectations of the population as a whole. The desire for better living standards appeared easier to realise in the city.

At the local level, such a high urbanisation rate made Saudi Arabia's ways of undertaking urban planning obsolete. The cities' urban infrastructure was not capable of

catching up with the rapidity of urban growth (Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004; Choguill 2007; Mandeli 2008). The pace of urban growth weakened the capacities, efficiency and coordination abilities of local authorities and policy makers. This resulted in problems, such as insufficient public services, utilities, infrastructure, insufficient resource allocation and poor physical development patterns, the great symptom of which was illegal development. To this list we can add leap-frog development, the propagation of scattered settlements, the lack of controls on population growth, shortages of affordable housing, increasing social differences, traffic congestion, and ecological damage (Mandeli 2008).

The problem was further compounded by the fact that urban governance lagged behind urban growth. The institutions on the local level that could have managed urban growth were in disarray. Organisational charts were obsolete. It has been argued that this rapid urban growth could have been guided more rationally by employing a more effective planning and management system, in particular if urban growth boundaries had been put in place, certain growth challenges could have been better met (Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004).

In fact, the government now changed its position in regard to urbanisation. It was clear to it that the planning system was not capable of minimising the negative impacts of fast urban growth and was failing to allocate resources in a socially desirable manner (Mandeli 2008). The problems of uncontrolled urban growth lie behind recent governmental plans, such as the *Seventh Development Plan* (MOP 2000). Chapter 14 is

dedicated to provincial and urban centre development. Its first objective is '(t)o reduce internal migration which has adverse impacts on major urban centers': this represents the government's new understanding and position on urbanisation.

In conclusion, the problems in Saudi Arabia stem from many causes, but one of the chief pressures is the fact that the country, like many countries around the world, has experienced rapid urbanisation in the last decades of the 20th century without adequately understanding either how to control it or how to respond to it. These enormous demographic changes place crushing burdens on urban systems, often outstripping the capacity of local officials to satisfy even the minimum requirements for sustaining liveable and humane environments. In the next section, the various attempts to update the planning system in Saudi to respond to the challenges of fast urban growth are outlined.

2.5 Urban planning and development in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah

This section will brief the reader about urban planning and development in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah. Firstly, a general overview of the development of Saudi Arabia will be presented, followed by more discussion on the research case study of Jeddah.

2.5.1 Saudi Arabia's development

The history of the development of Saudi Arabia will be presented here through three major stages: foundation, building, and management.

2.5.1.1 The foundation stage

The beginning of development and planning in Saudi Arabia goes back to the period between the establishment of the kingdom by King Abdulaziz up to 1953, when regulation by the Council of Ministers was introduced. At this stage, the main interest for the government was to improve living standards and conditions, given the limited resources in this period before the discovery of oil (Al-Khedheiri 2002; Mandeli 2008).

King Abdulaziz is the main figure during this period. He established several civil agencies with the aim of providing a mechanism to suggest and implement regulations on both local and national levels. These agencies were entrusted with the mission to help in management and planning, and their first order of business was to establish local councils to regulate and organise local municipal affairs (in 1923), followed by the order to

establish local municipal consultative councils in all of the western region cities: Makkah, Medina, Jeddah, Taif, and Yunbua. However, this arrangement only lasted until 1925, when the fundamental regulations of the kingdom were formulated. In the new decrees, the governance of municipal affairs, amongst other aspects of the governance of the country, was changed. At the national level, a consultative council was established, which was located in Makkah. In Jeddah, Makkah, and Medina, municipal councils were set up and made responsible for reviewing and improving local municipal performance in these cities. The rural councils were established to take care of tribal and rural affairs. The goal of these new bureaucracies was to meet the needs of a Saudi society that, at the time, mostly consisted of tribes and rural parties, except for the western region (Al-Khedheiri 2002; Bannan 2006). Finally, in 1927, King Abdulaziz approved the Act of Municipal Regulation, which clarified municipal responsibilities and tasks, limiting the scope of their authority to within their boundaries.

In the early 1930s a critical change was made at the national level by the establishment of a representative council of deputies. This council consisted of two units: the 'Presidency of the Council of Deputies' and the 'Ministry of Interior'. What is important in these changes was that local municipalities in the western region's cities had been allocated to the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Interior (Daghistani, A 1991), while other village, rural and town authorities were still left under the rule of the regional governors. These changes were made to better control and manage these municipalities, financially and administratively (May 2001).

As the Saudi state crystallised into an actual polity, the new country had to rapidly develop the needed administrative framework to manage itself. King Abdulaziz largely had to improvise to see what administrative arrangement fitted the situation locally and nationally while ruling over a kingdom whose income until the 1930s was massively influenced by the money spent by pilgrims coming to Saudi Arabia.

2.5.1.2 The building stage

All of this changed after the first discovery of oil in the kingdom, and many consider this period as the first reform period (Duncan 1987; Mandeli 2008). During this stage, the country's financial situation improved, and its strategic importance in the world economy started its ascent. Two factors – the oil revenue and the strategic importance of oil to the world's economy – marked the second stage of the country's development through the WWII period and up until the foundation of the Ministers Council in 1953. The 1953 changes did not move the responsibility for municipal affairs away from the Ministry of Interior. In 1962, however, the increasing importance of municipalities was the reason given for transforming the municipal affairs department under the Ministry of Interior to an agency.

Another important development at this stage of bureaucratic consolidation was the Province Regulation Act in 1963 that divided the kingdom into provinces based on geographical and social matters. It was the goal of this Act to provide a framework for better regional administrative setting arrangements (Duncan 1987). By the terms of this Act, each province was governed by a regional governor linked directly to the Minister of

Interior. More recently, in 1992, this Act was changed and replaced by the New Provinces Act.

In conclusion, we can see this stage of consolidation, linked to the radical changes in Saudi Arabia's economy and international position, as one in which the arrangements that had been improvised during the early years of sovereignty were strained to provide the capacity for governance necessary to manage the prosperity and modernisation brought about by the new economic situation.

2.5.1.3 The management stage

The real importance of Saudi Arabia on the world stage was underlined by the 1970s oil boom in Saudi Arabia. Given the massive amount of liquidity that flooded the coffers of the country, the call to accelerate the speed of development proved irresistible. It was at this point that the administrative and planning context of the country, forged in a period when Saudi Arabia was largely rural, betrayed its limits in relation to providing a modern educational, transport, communications and commercial infrastructure. Many consider this period as the second reform period (Mandeli 2008; McKinsey 1978). A major planning development during this stage was the issuance of the five-year development plans in 1970 when the economic situation with oil revenues increased the development rate in the kingdom. The purpose of these plans was to guide development on the national level and to draw guidelines and objectives for the country's future (Duncan 1987).

As the oil wealth poured in, the rural population was migrating to the cities. The fast urban growth in this period made changes in regard to municipal affairs inevitable. In 1975 the order was given to establish the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA), as well as other ministries to be included in the national administrative setting and the Ministers Council of the country. MOMRA, in those years, was a work in progress, ultimately aimed at including under its umbrella the administrative structures necessary to manage Saudi settlements.

MOMRA had classified and ranked all settlements to facilitate their management. Within this classification, which was based on population and regional importance, only five cities were classified as first class municipalities, called *Amanat*. These cities were Makkah, Medina, Jeddah, Dammam, and the country's capital, Riyadh. With the help of UN experts and international consultants, MOMRA developed master plans for many of these cities, to manage urban growth and foster development.

In regional matters, the challenges of fast urban growth and rural de-population provoked the issuance of the Villages Development Law in 1983, which aimed to improve and better organise the situation in Saudi rural areas and slow the migration to the cities. A further development in regard to the regional context at this stage was the *New Provinces Act* (1992), that aimed to permit more needed scope to the authority of regional governors in the matter of coordinating development projects between different

governmental agencies in the regional and local level. The Act also sought to streamline bureaucratic roadblocks stemming from the divisions inherent in the sectoral administrative setting of the government.

In conclusion, the trend of reform that constitutes this stage was conditioned by Riyadh's understanding of: (1) the need to find a means through which municipalities and local authorities could control and manage urban growth; and (2) the need to implement better planning practices, especially economic planning, to achieve development goals and manage development activities (see Fig. 2-2). By the end of this period the main urban planning and administrative settings had been formulated in Saudi Arabia. The country had developed an administrative capacity to manage urban development.

Figure (2-2) summarises the three stages of development presented above. The first stage represents a newborn country that was interested in establishing an administrative framework. Later, when the country reached a stable situation and the national income increased, the government realised the importance of economic planning and started to improve living standards. The interest in urban planning came later when many development projects started in Saudi cities and difficulties in managing these projects on the ground required a master plan.

The next section will turn to Jeddah's history and development, which must be viewed in tandem with the history of the country as a whole. While, ultimately, this is a

case study of the urban development of Jeddah, it is impossible to disentangle this from national development policy.

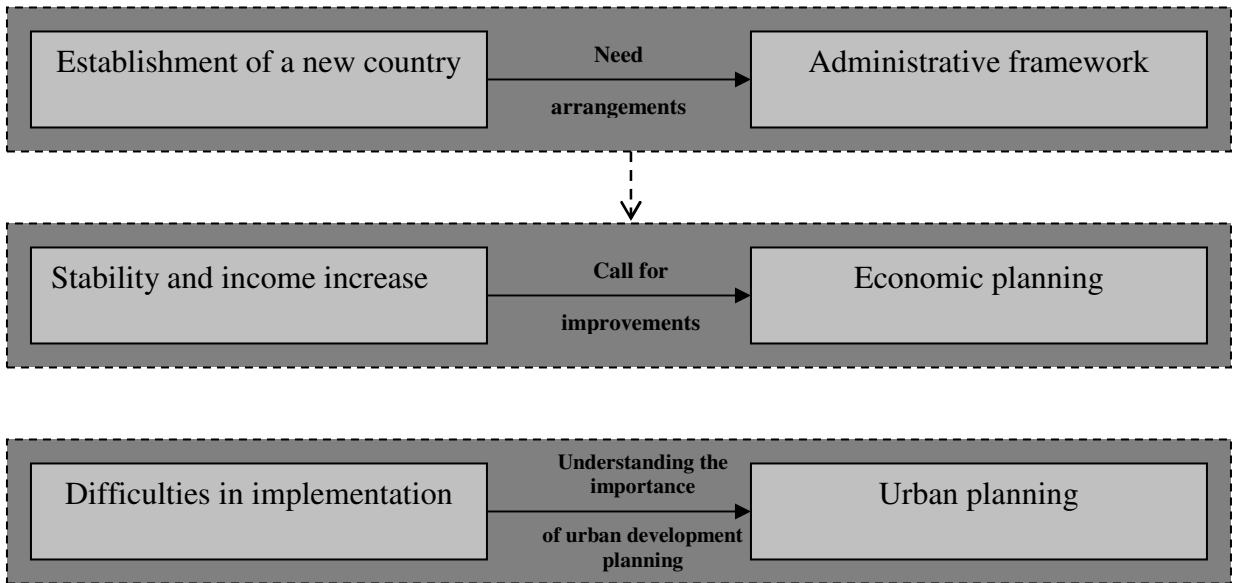


Figure 2-2: The development of government understanding of the importance of urban planning

2.5.2 Jeddah's development

2.5.2.1 Jeddah in pre-Saudi times

Jeddah has been settled for at least 3000 years, originally as a fishing port. The recorded history of Jeddah goes to the Quda'ah tribe who settled there about 2500 years ago; however, full settlement began according to Jeddah municipality¹ in 647 AD by the third Muslim Caliph, Othman bin Afan, who developed the port to receive Muslims on hajj, a service that the city has performed ever since.

Protecting the city from nomads, Jeddah's first fortifying wall was built in the tenth century, reputedly by the Persians, and unlike other Arabic cities with their rectangular walls it was irregular, following contours and enclosing buildings that predated it. Further fortifications and a sea wall were built in 1511 which later protected the city from the Portuguese, although this was strengthened in 1525 when the Ottomans defeated Mamluk and assumed the Hijaz territory. Jeddah's ancient gates (bab) included southern Bab Sharif, eastern and northern Bab Madinah and Al-Jadid. They were heavily fortified, with towers each side of the gates and walls flanking the sea (Abu-GhazzeH 1994). The walls remained in place until they were demolished in 1947 (Soliman 2010).

Abu-GhazzeH (1994) states that planning for old Jeddah included the wall fortifications, with gates and major roads, seven cubits, or about 3.5 metres wide, linking caravan routes to the mosque and its adjacent business district. Smaller streets, lanes and

¹ Jeddah municipality, accessed 15 November 2011 from <http://www.jeddah.gov.sa/English/jeddah/index.php>

cul-de-sacs connected houses throughout the urban area. Buildings were of local materials: coral walls with wooden lattice (mashrabia) openings, and were from one to about seven storeys, adapted to the hot desert climate (Abdu, Salagoor & AL-Harigi 2002).

Under the Ottomans in the early nineteenth century, Jeddah's two roles as gateway to the hajj and as a major port between Egypt and Indian trade were firmly in place. The population was about 20,000 by the 1840s (Hanioglu 2008). There were threats to its status as a port, with an Ottoman/British treaty reducing the city's power, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further reducing its importance in global trade (Freitag 2011). Freitag notes that late in the nineteenth century, the residents of Jeddah had many different ethnic and religious origins, and their numbers increased every year through entry from the hajj. Ottoman laws regarding movement of people around the Empire, freedom of religious expression and control of infectious diseases and services for the city also contributed to the city's diverse pattern and fabric.

Until the 1880s Jeddah's municipal affairs were under the control of the Muhtasib, the district governor, appointed by the Makkah sharif, the regional governor. The city was declared a municipality in 1882 when the western region Hijaz was declared a welaya (province) of the Ottoman Empire. The region then had a local government, and each settlement could elect a mayor and a town council. Other regional cities in the region were Makkah, Al-Madinah, At Taif and Yanbu. This system gave local authorities

legislative and administrative power over their urban area through an elected local council.

By the twentieth century, Jeddah was regaining its position as a multicultural port dedicated to pilgrims and as an important part of global trade through the opening of the Suez Canal and the mediating influence of the Ottoman Empire. Whilst its fortifications generally held intact, it was nevertheless bound by its desert location, and the ever-present threat of being sacked and pillaged.



Source: Pesce, A. (1977, p. 112): Jeddah Portrait of an Arabian City, London, Falcon Press

Picture 2.1: A view of Jeddah in 1940

2.5.2.2 Jeddah as part of Saudi Arabia

After Jeddah became part of Saudi Arabia, its development was linked strongly to the development of the country. During the period between the early 1920s until 1945,

Jeddah was very much as it had been before Saudi times, remaining within its wall to give it an area of not more than 180 hectares. Demographically, there was little increase in the population, which is estimated to have been about 35,000 in 1945. The main economic base consisted of the revenues that were collected from commerce and services offered to pilgrims. This was, indeed, an important source of revenue for the kingdom, which suffered financial shortfalls in the Great Depression as the number of pilgrims decreased considerably. Another hit was experienced due to the Second World War. This unsettling situation affected all aspects of the city's development – social, educational, health, economic and consequently, physical.

The period after the Second World War (post-1945) witnessed a transformative economic upturn in the fortunes of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, linked to oil. The kingdom started receiving oil revenues in 1946. This soon overtook all other economic activity as the mainstay of the kingdom's finances. Jeddah was one of the first cities in the kingdom to benefit from this turn in the economy (Makhlouf 1985). This came about as a result of its function as the gateway to Makkah, not only as a holy city, but also as the capital of the country at that time. The economic upturn was further accentuated by the increased inflow of pilgrims following the end of the Second World War. As the population began to increase dramatically, the wall was demolished in 1947. This was the period in which investments were made in basic infrastructure, including roads, royal palaces, a public hospital, the harbour's oil refinery, the old airport and a piped water supply from Wadi Fatimah (Fatimah Valley) about 55 km from Jeddah to complement the sea water desalination plant. With this increase in investment there came, as well,

other pressures such as the provision of housing, employment, commerce and services, hence the increasing complexity and differentiation of Jeddah's land uses.

The positive effect of these economic growing pains is that it made the government resort to planning for the first time: not only national planning, but also urban planning. The kingdom sought and got the assistance of the United Nations, under the leadership of its expert, Dr Abdul-Rahman Makhoul. Jeddah was given its first plan in 1962. The main features and configuration of the development of Jeddah were determined by this plan. The linear pattern, the location of the new King Abdulaziz Airport, the direction of the main motor transit ways and the ring roads and the corniche were all determined by the plan.

In the 1970s, OPEC policies substantially raised the price of oil per barrel that meant an increase in Saudi Arabia's revenues and an increased rate of development. In this period the interest in planning was encouraged under the first Five-Year Development Plan (1970–1975). The main thrust of the plan was not only to encourage physical developments but also included studies of the population, national transport, regional, socio-economic and physical studies. Under the auspices of these studies, the second Jeddah Master Plan (1973) was prepared by an experienced international consultancy consortium, Robert Matthew, Johnson Marshall Partners. The plan and the planning processes were undertaken at the time based on the optimistic estimate of the inflow of oil revenue into the kingdom. The plan also took into consideration the following favourable elements prevalent in Jeddah – a sound economic/commercial base,

the availability of coastal land, open spaces (for recreation), and basic communications and utilities already in place (Duncan 1987).

The oil boom continued to be the background against which the Second Development Plan (1975–1980) was launched. The large revenue inflows enabled the government to embark upon multi-sectoral development plans, programs and projects. Priority attention was given to the urban sector. In fact, one of the main goals of the Second Development Plan was to ‘develop the physical infrastructure to support the achievement of the cultural, historical, and political fundamentals, values and principles of the Kingdom’ (MOEP 1975, p. 3). The plan therefore contained a program for the serious physical restructuring of the major centres of population, such as Jeddah, which provided the main economic bases of the kingdom. In particular, the plan envisaged that by 1978, all major towns would have operational master plans in place.

The significance of Jeddah nationally can be seen in the fact that about 30% of government project expenditure was invested in the city during the second Five-Year Development Plan (Duncan 1987). Likewise, private investments too have played an important role in the urban expansion of Jeddah. This is particularly true in the area of housing, business and manufacturing. Indeed, according to Duncan (1987), ‘because of its long established role as a seaport and trading centre, the strength of its mature commercial activities and its growing industrial base, Jeddah is less dependent on government investment and funding than other regions or cities in the Kingdom’ (p. x). It

is important to note that government and private investments complemented each other in Jeddah, without one driving out the other.

The boom economically brought about a boom demographically, as the annual population grew at an unparalleled and unsustainable rate of 14% over the years 1971–1974. Similarly, in physical terms Jeddah's area grew four-fold from 31,400 ha to 121,500 ha within six years (Duncan 1987).

This kind of growth has its cost in squeezing the supply of urban amenities and infrastructural capacity. By 1980 the growth of Jeddah had become so rapid and phenomenal in both population and spatial terms that facilities and services were lagging behind demand. Although the 1973 master plan provided the framework for growth and development control, in establishing the elements of future city structure and direction (Konash et al. 1984), according to Mayor Abdulghani (1993), it was realised that the Municipality of Jeddah was unable to implement the plan since it had not prepared for the sudden population growth and thus the massive scale of corresponding unregulated development. Therefore, in 1980 a consulting consortium, Sert Jackson International/Saudi Consult (SJI/Sc) (SJI/SC; 1980), was called in to review the plan and the situation. The review was supposed to guide Jeddah for a decade up to 1990. It was called the Master Directive Plan. It shared similar objectives with the previous plan, the difference being that the new plan included the spine corridor development along Madinah Road as well as putting in place zoning control of the central area. Physically, the plan called for redeveloping the old airport site for housing to accommodate up to

100,000 residents. Other features included commercial, industrial and recreational uses at appropriate sites and the inauguration of a mass transit system. Although the main technical, administrative and control systems of the Master Directive Plan were actually put into place, the principal proposals (the utilisation of the old airport site and that of the mass transit system) have not been implemented to date.

The direction of growth of Jeddah during the boom days in the first half of the 1970s was mainly towards the north and the south. In the second half of the 1970s, however, growth was mainly northward due to the construction of the new airport. During this period, and later in the 1980s, new scattered residential subdivision developed rapidly between the new airport in the north and the old town in the south, along the new Madina highway and along the coastal line in the west. Although some development took place along the Makkah highway in the east, it was distinctly secondary to the westward growth. The northward expansion of the city continued in the 1980s and extended beyond the new airport. In the 1980s a decision was made to update the plan. A local consultant, 'Al-Somate', was hired to do the job.

Later, in the 1990s, the rate of development slowed in Jeddah and all over Saudi Arabia. This was linked to the Gulf Wars started in the late 1980s between Iraq and Iran and in the early 1990s between Kuwait and Iraq. The country's economy was heavily affected by the 1990s war which was reflected in government spending and budgets for new development programs and projects in the whole country and Jeddah. Also in this period, the planning administrative development and projects were slow. During the

1990s most of the government budgets were for maintaining the developments achieved in the 1970s and 1980s. Many urban problems, physical, social, economic and environmental, appeared more starkly across the city in this period.

The situation continued until the early 2000s when the price of oil increased and the government started investing in development projects in the city again. During this stage the decision had been made to prepare a new plan for Jeddah to address the now obvious urban problems across the city. ‘Albeea Consultant Group’ was hired to prepare the plan. Urban issues, such as traffic congestion, land values, illegal developments, social problems of unemployment and social equity, and environmental issues, such as underground water and soil pollution, called for a plan at this time.

Area (km2)	Year
1	Within The Wall
3.15	1951
14.6	1961
32.5	1971
114.15	1981
225.55	1986
1050	2002

Table 2-3: The urban growth of Jeddah
Source: Jeddah municipality (2004, p. 23)

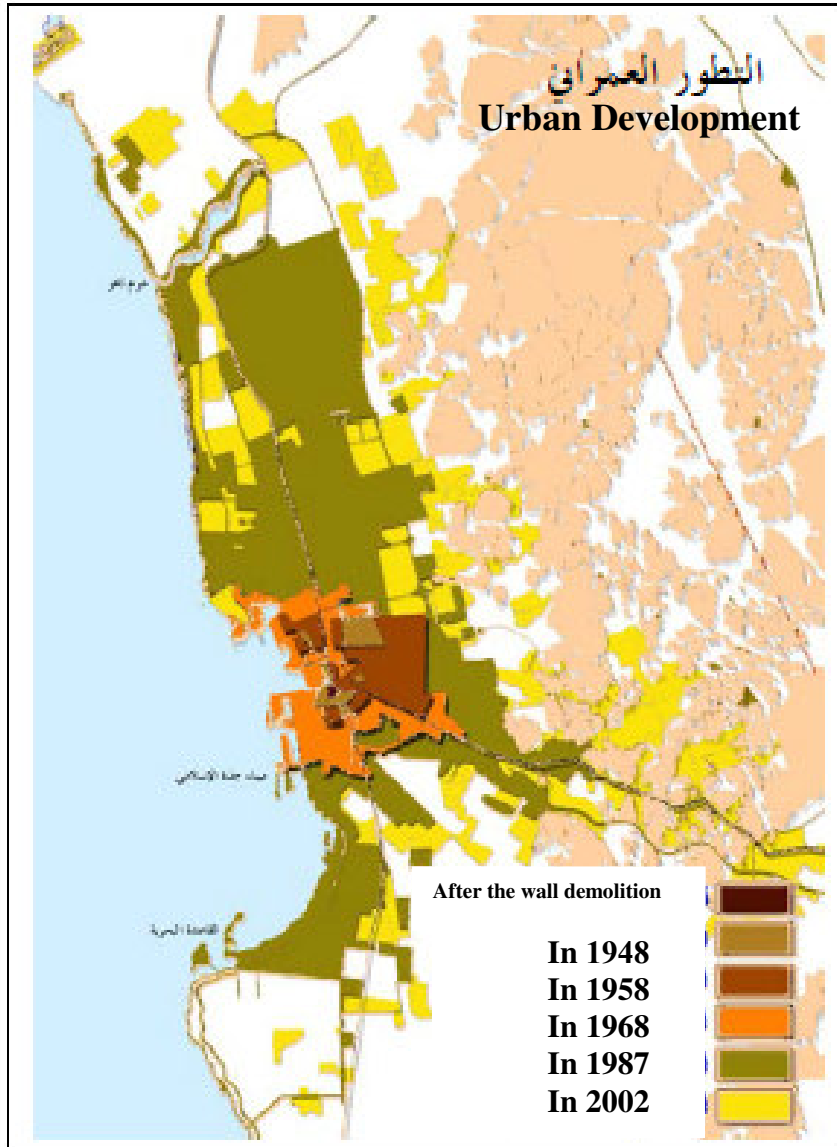


Figure 2-3: The urban growth of Jeddah
 (Source: Jeddah master plan of 2005 (Al Beea) p. 27)

Having traced the growth and development of Saudi Arabia and Jeddah, the next section will highlight the existing government arrangements regarding urban planning and development.

2.6 The Saudi planning context

The present form of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was established by King Abdulaziz in 1932. Originally, the kingdom had a strong centralised system of government in which secular power was vested in the King. The law of the provinces, promulgated in 1992, divided the kingdom administratively into 13 provinces, each run by a governor who is mainly responsible for law, order, and the coordination of development activities. Locally, municipalities headed by mayors appointed by the central government are responsible for administering the provision of municipal services. In turn, they come under the administrative control of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA). Unlike the case in many other comparably developed countries, the federal government intervenes in the planning and development of all settlements by using the strong tool of budgeting (Al-Khedheiri 2002). Local municipalities in Saudi Arabia get their budgets from the federal government on the basis of population and specific projects; they have no authority to levy direct taxes. Even the provision and maintenance of services and utilities is heavily subsidised by the federal government.

At the national level, the main agencies responsible for planning in Saudi Arabia are the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA), which is responsible for local development authorities in urban and rural areas, and the Ministry of Economic and Planning (MOEP), which is responsible for national planning, and the Five-Year Development Plans. Locally, settlements are run by municipalities.

In the next sections we will summarise and describe the government structure and political context of planning, the administrative context of planning, and the local government context for regulation in Saudi Arabia, thus giving a synoptic view of the framework within which urban planning is implemented in Jeddah.

2.6.1 Government structure: national and regional levels

As noted, the Saudi Arabian government is highly centralised. In 1992, King Fahd issued a decree to establish the basic law of the government, otherwise known as the Basic Law. Under its rules, the ultimate power in the country is vested in the King. The law also establishes a Consultative Counsel (the Majlis Al-Shura) and regional assemblies (councils). The regional assemblies consist of the governor of the province, the vice-governor, and members appointed by notable people who live in the province (Cordesman and Obaid 2005, p. 362) (see Chapter 5). In effect, the only legislative level of government is at the national level, while regional and local governments implement the national government's policies, programs and projects (see Fig. 2-3).

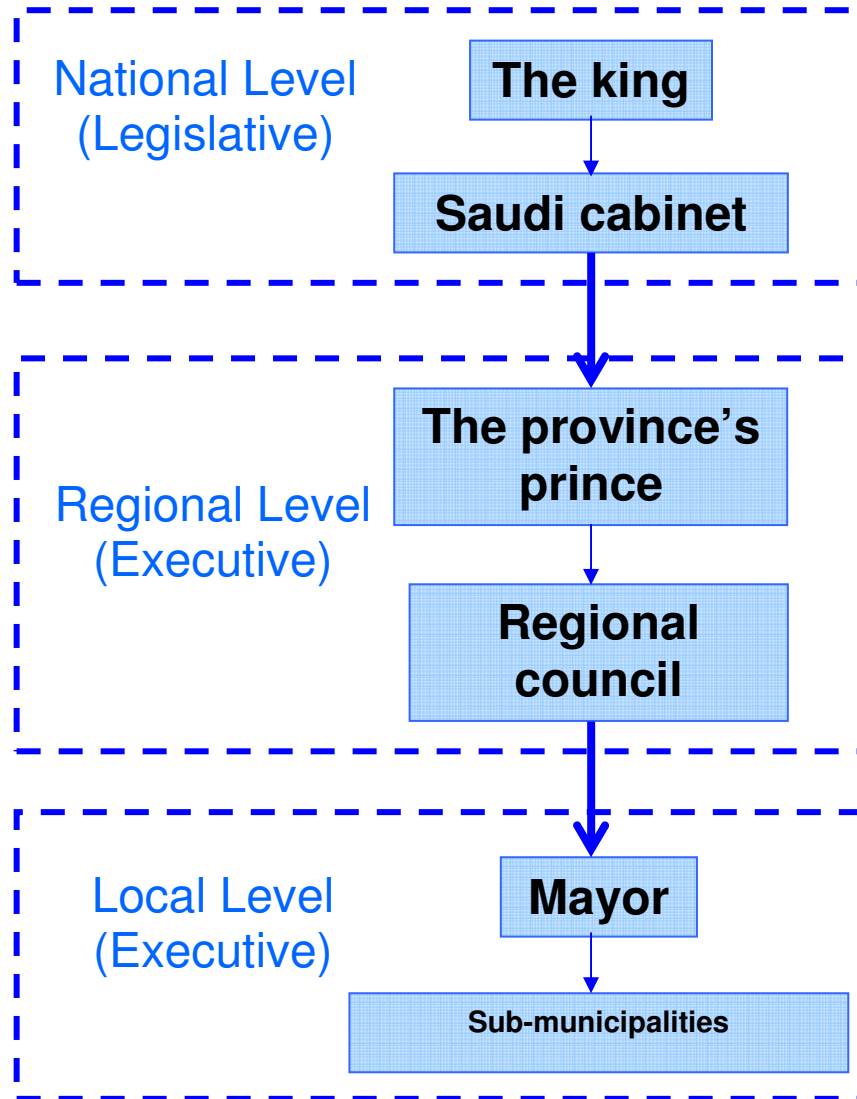


Figure 2-4: Levels of government in Saudi Arabia (created by the author)

The Council of Ministers, which was first established in 1953, is the formal policy-making body with executive and legislative powers. The council is responsible for issuing budgets and policies for most internal matters. However, the King approves all laws, treaties, concessions and the budget, which are implemented by the issuing of royal decrees. As a result of the reorganisation of ministries in 1975, the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs is the main ministry responsible for the development of human

settlements. Each ministry includes a regional or district sub-organisation, but the concentration of authority is in the central government.

To summarise: the main national institutions of the political system in Saudi Arabia are the King, the Crown Prince, the Second Deputy Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, and the various government ministries – and advisory committees with ‘Majlis al-Shura’. The King is the supreme authority.



Figure 2-5: Map showing the 13 provinces in SA²

² Source:

<http://www.mep.gov.sa/index.jsp;jsessionid=AEDDF2DBB5C0B35D46104B4E64FCFF32.beta?event=ArticleView&Article.ObjectID=14>, accessed 12/7/2008

2.6.2 The administrative context of planning

Planning in the kingdom is entrusted to two main ministries – the Ministry of Economics and Planning (MOEP) and the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA). MEP is one of six ministries that were set up in the 1970s in response to the new and pressing institutional deficits that were revealed by the kingdom's rapid economic and social development. Its principal task is the preparation of five-year development plans for the kingdom, which set the framework for development activity at all levels throughout the country.

MOMRA was one of the six new ministries incorporated in the kingdom's new cabinet in 1975 in the midst of a phenomenal expansion in government activities. It is by far the most significant ministry for urban development and planning. It is responsible not only for the formulation of planning policies at national, regional and local levels, but also the implementation of urban development projects and for coordination between the ministry and other agencies (Daghistani, A 1985, 1991).

2.6.3 Local government structure

The Jeddah municipality, like every city in Saudi Arabia, is run by an appointed mayor, in consultation with an advisory board. Under the mayor there are two directors, one of projects, and one of services, each of whom presides over his own department. In

addition, Jeddah is divided into sub-municipalities, each of which has its own president (see Fig. 2-5).

The main role for Jeddah's local government, or any other local government in the kingdom, is to implement and monitor policies and projects in its area. Crucially, however, it does not have control over its own budget – rather, this is controlled by the national government.

In regard to urban development, the local municipality is the main responsible agency at the local level. Recently, in 2005, municipal councils, with a combination of elected and appointed members, were introduced to the local level municipal administrative setting (see Chapter 5), which created a level of public participation in the urban planning and development process.

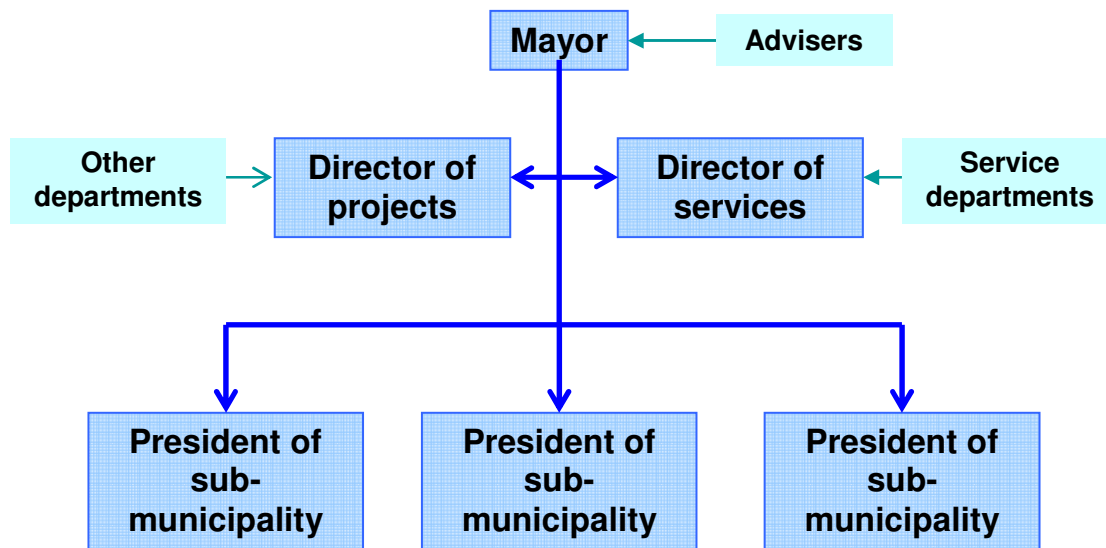


Figure 2-6: A brief overview of the structure of Jeddah's municipality (created by the author)

2.7 Jeddah today

Jeddah is the second largest city in the kingdom. Its population is estimated to be about 3.5 million. It covers an area of 1200 km² (Municipality 2010). Jeddah is the gateway to Makkah and Madinah and the kingdom's commercial capital. Jeddah is now a modern city with a large airport, seaport, industrial areas, commercial markets, and some of its residents living in villas and modern buildings.

The government has invested billions of dollars over the last 50 years to assist the city to reach this size. However, the city living environment is really poor. Only 40% or so of the city benefits from the sewage network, and about 87% from piped water (Municipality 2008). Unemployment is about 11.5% (Municipality 2005). Public open-space is half a square metre per person. Regarding hospital beds, there are 22.5 per 10,000 people (Municipality 2005). Traffic congestion is common. The city does not have a public transport system. Illegal development and squatter settlements abound. These do not meet minimum standards of urban services for schools, health centres and roads. Leap-frog development is common: this leaves vacant land everywhere, increasing infrastructure development costs, travelling time, and it distorts the land market. There is a major social division between the north and south side of Jeddah to be clearly observed in development and living standards, resulting in many problems.

Environmental problems are made worse by the common use of septic tanks that affect the water table and pollute the underground water. Furthermore, sewage discharge

has created a stinking lake near the city, creating potentially catastrophic health and environmental hazards (pictures 2.1 and 2.3).



Picture 2.2: Raw sewage discharge at the sewage lake east of Jeddah



Picture 2.3: The sewage lake east of Jeddah, which creates an environmental hazard

Also, the problem of not covering the city with an efficient drainage network affects the city each year in the rainy season. The lack of a planned drainage system contributed to the disastrous floods in 2009 and 2010, resulting in the death of many people (pictures 2.4 and 2.5).



Picture 2.4: The lack of a drainage network, which affects the city almost every year in the rainy season



Picture 2.5: The lack of a drainage network, which affects the city almost every year in the rainy season



Picture 2.6: The problem of traffic in Jeddah

To provide the reader with some detail in order to understand the situation, some figures are provided. The reports show that the city is suffering from a water shortage (Alaqili 2012; Bin Marzog 2007) and heavily depends on water trucks to supply houses with water. Approximately 80% of Jeddah houses rely on water trucks (Mrishid 2007). In addition, the reports illustrate the ineffectiveness of the existing water pipe network, which leaks approximately 20% of the water it carries (Bin Marzog 2007) and only supplies about 30% of the houses in Jeddah with a 24-hour water supply (Al-Shihri 2012). Additionally, many reports address the problem with sewerage in Jeddah (AL-Othman 2012; Aleqtisadiyah 2012; Ghazawi 2011; Hadath 2009). The reports show that only 22% of Jeddah is sewerred (Ghazawi 2011). The reports also highlight the environmental issues this problem creates in polluting the underground water and soil (AL-Jihani 2012) and the sea-water pollution that results from discharging the sewerage water from a 30 position to Jeddah's coast (Athmah 2012).



Picture 2.7: The water trucks used to supply water in Jeddah

With regard to pollution, the reports show that Jeddah suffers from contamination of its soil, air, and sea water. In fact, some of the reports believe that Jeddah's sea pollution is four times above international standards (Al-Adwani 2010; Dawood 2012). And furthermore, many reports discuss the problem of air and soil pollution in Jeddah (Kubbara 1994).

With regard to health services, there are many reports that discuss the problems with shortages of hospitals and beds (Al-Awsat 2012; Al-Shamari 2012; Alqarbi 2012;

Saati 2012). Some reports indicate that the government tries to cover the shortages in Jeddah by paying millions to private hospitals to treat citizens (Al-Awsat 2012).

Unplanned settlements (squatters) are another problem affecting the quality of life in Jeddah (Abdulaal 2012; Al-Khtarsh 2009). To highlight the problem for the reader, reports show that there are about 60 unplanned areas in Jeddah (Al-Madinah 2009) which cover an area of 140 h of Jeddah (Al-Awsat 2011), and about one-third of Jeddah's population live in unplanned settlements (Shraiah 2011).

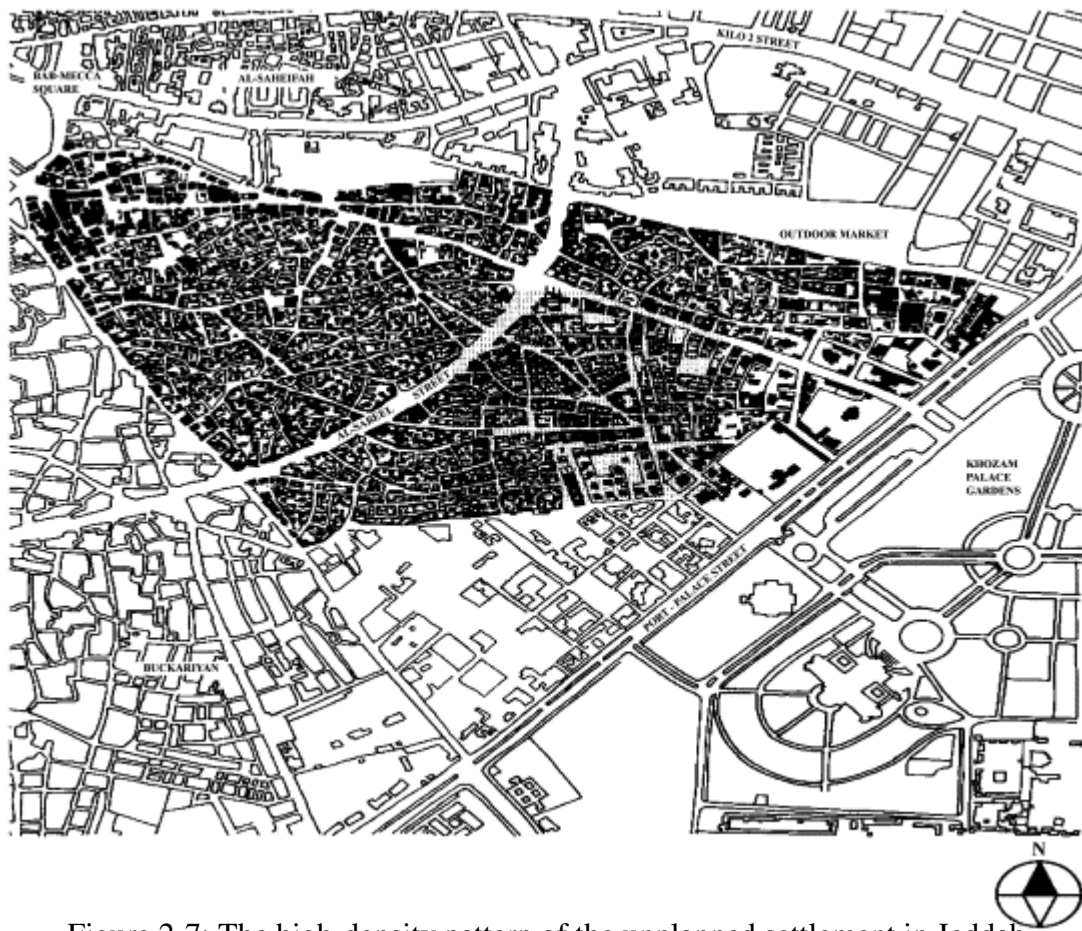


Figure 2-7: The high-density pattern of the unplanned settlement in Jeddah
Source: Jeddah master plan of 2005 (Al Beea), p. 56)

All this indicates the ineffectiveness of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah. Given heavy investment by the government, why is this the case?

2.8 Chapter overview

This chapter introduced the twin issues of the general development of Jeddah and Saudi Arabia over the twentieth century with attention given to urban planning and management. It then turned to the failure of urban planning in Jeddah that is evident in its current situation. As this review has shown, although urban planning in Jeddah is administered, funded and influenced by national organisations, the city faces a unique local set of problems and challenges, including a lack of urban services, illegal development and a poor living environment.

The next chapter reviews the previous urban plans for Jeddah: all start with a realisation of past failures, all commence with high expectations, and all have failed to really meet the challenges they were supposed to address. This analysis, as the next chapter will show, suggests that inappropriate governance arrangements have been key to the past difficulties of planning in Jeddah.

Chapter 3: Urban planning in Jeddah

3.1 Introduction

This study has been conducted to determine the reasons for the deterioration of Jeddah's living environment. The shortage in urban services and infrastructure, it has been argued, is an indicator of the failure of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah to achieve an appropriate habitable environment despite all the government expense in developing the city.

The previous chapter was an overview of the growth and development of the planning process in Jeddah and Saudi Arabia. It showed that the urban planning and development process in Jeddah is closely tied to that of Saudi Arabia as a whole.

This chapter focuses on the next step in the failure of the urban planning and development process to assist in the creation of an appropriate habitable environment. This will be achieved through reviewing and evaluating the city's past plans.

The primary focus here are the objectives of the plans and their motivations, not their design aspects. The plans are evaluated against criteria developed by Baer (1997), adapted to fit the current situation.

It proved difficult to retrieve written matter regarding Jeddah's urban plans, even after every effort was made to locate and review it from its supposed locations in public and university libraries and the Jeddah municipal archives. To unearth more, the researcher used his social networks in Jeddah to approach people who knew of or were involved in development of these plans.

The aim of this chapter is to present the plans and discuss the development of these plans from a local perspective for the purpose of the research discussion, and to focus on Jeddah. National-level institutes such as MOMRA and policies such as the urban boundary policy seem not relevant and were not discussed in detail in this chapter. More details about MOMRA can be found in sections 2.5.1.3, 2.6, and 2.6.2, which represent the role of this national-level authority and highlight the negative aspects of the overcentralisation of this role.

3.2 Planning development in Jeddah

This section briefly describes each city plan for Jeddah in the context of the country's changing economic fortunes. More critical analysis follows.

Jeddah's growth was slow until after World War Two. Then the city's population doubled to 50,000 by 1956 (Makhlouf 1985). With the population increase, pressure on the municipality's limited control mechanisms increased. But population growth trends were unpredictable, reflecting uncertainties in the national economy. Abdu et al. (2002) noted economic shocks occurred intermittently, thus Jeddah's population fluctuated with

the return of foreign workers to their home countries. The unpredictability of oil prices within the global economy forced government to give more attention to urban planning beyond the allocation of resources in five-year plans. To be effective, plans and planners needed to have the resilience to respond to unexpected economic shocks.

The local process of urban planning effectively started in 1959 when the Saudi Arabian government asked the United Nations to set up an administrative planning framework. An Egyptian urban planner with a Munich university doctorate, Dr Abdul-Rahman Makhoulf, was assigned to set up the administrative organisation within which urban planning would operate and to complete a master plan design for the City of Jeddah.

Dr Makhoulf's work was not confined to the City of Jeddah alone. His task also included the preparation of plans for several cities in the western region, including Taif, Al-Madinah, Yanbu, and plans for Al-Ahsa in the East of Saudi Arabia. At that time, these cities, in addition to Mecca and Riyadh, were the main urban settlements in the country.

When the office of urban planning was established it consisted of a small group of administrators, including a local architect, Saud Lenjawi, along with Dr Makhoulf (Makhoulf 1985). Through the establishment of this office, Dr Makhoulf set the foundation stone for the administrative framework for the planning in Jeddah. This office operated under the Supreme Planning Board in Riyadh in order to achieve the objectives

of the central administration. This office managed the preparation of the first plan for the City of Jeddah and sent it to the Ministry of Planning and the Jeddah municipality for implementation. The intention was to make Jeddah the first phase of a bigger project so that the Jeddah plan could be a sample and an educative exercise for Saudi planners generally (Makhlouf 1985, p. 196)

Dr Makhlouf relied on a study of the natural and geographical factors and limitations of the city's future growth that resulted in the city's linear growth parallel to the Red Sea coastline. This plan faced many challenges, including a lack of information and resources.

After the preparation of the plan the administrative arrangements for its implementation continued. In 1963 a Deputy Ministry for Municipalities was established. Later, the Centre Town Planning Office in Riyadh was set up.

In 1966 a new mayor, Wahib Bin Zagr, was appointed. He summoned United Nation consultant Wilson-Murrow International to study Jeddah and the possibilities for its improvement. The study was to be comprehensive (Atlanta 1966, p. 1). It was intended to help the Jeddah municipality organise its services and work. The consultant collected extensive information across different sectors. The resultant report was designed to offer definitive solutions that included informing the mayor about 'trends which are taking place or which have taken place in other parts of the world; and

(making) broad recommendations for improvement of local municipal practices and procedures' (Atlanta 1966, p. 3)

This study was the first indication that certain problems still existed, such as those concerning waste treatment and septic tanks. In addition, information was provided on the organisational structure of the city administration, indicating that there were deficiencies in the work of local authorities and that they were dependent on the central management with regard to budgeting and decision-making.

The study made many recommendations for improving Jeddah, particularly its administration and planning. Its most significant criticisms at the local level were the administrative arrangements: the necessity for continuity in the planning process to more effectively plan and manage the city's urban growth and development. The report's covering letter states:

We were honored that you asked us to give you our opinion regarding some of the problems you face as the new Mayor of Jeddah. We have prepared a brief, but comprehensive report in which we discuss the problems as we see them and suggest possible solutions that can be taken to relieve some of the existing conditions. Most of Jeddah's problems can only be properly and effectively solved through studies and long-range continuing planning (Wilson-Murrow International 1966, the study covering letter).

The new mayor in 1967 did not take up these concerns.

Dr Makhoulf produced his plan based on calculations and data for the future growth of Jeddah according to the information he had and the possibilities of that period. In the early 1970s, the growth rate far exceeded Dr Makhoulf's expectations, prompting the need to prepare a new plan for the City of Jeddah.

A British consultant group, Robert Matthew Johnson Marshall (RMJM) was assigned to do one. The RMJM contract included the following five phases (Duncan 1987):

- comprehensive map production
- evaluative studies and recommendations for immediate actions for the western region of Makkah, Al-Madinah, Jeddah, Taif and Yanbu
- a regional physical plan and development program for the western region
- master plans and reports for the development of the six cities
- detailed action area urban designs for immediate development of each city.

The approach was to develop a plan for the western region and then to prepare a general plan for the primary cities, including Jeddah.

This developmental approach required administrative initiatives and two committees were formed: an administrative committee and a technical committee. These two committees were formed to guide the implementation and adoption of the plans (Duncan 1987). Despite this attention to the development aspects, the plans produced by

RMJM were considered physical plans and not development plans concerned with social and economic issues (Felemban 1976). Duncan (1987) considered the Jeddah master plan 'a physical land use and transport framework plan for the city structure but not for the residents' movements and use of services'.

RMJM divided the Jeddah master plan into four phases, each of which was to take five years. RMJM did not put any detailed strategy in place for implementation.

Furthermore, upon implementation, many problems arose due to bureaucratic funding procedures. The central administration was in control of plans for Jeddah (Mandeli 2008). A number of difficulties were encountered in relation to funding issues when the central administration adopted project-based contracts and so did not implement the plan in a comprehensive and coordinated way. The local authority could not affect the funding of projects, having no taxing powers (Duncan 1987).

RMJM warned about the implementation phase and the changes that might take place. It also warned about the importance of land and growth controls:

In view of the growth proposals in the plan, increased activity in land sub-division and sales can be expected. Should this occur on any large scale, sub-division should only be permitted if it conforms to the overall physical structure of the plan (Jeddah Master Plan Report, ((RMJM) 1973, p. 191).

The oil production boom gave rise to the establishment of the Real Estate Development Fund in 1974 that provided free-interest loans to citizens to help them buy and build houses. This led to increased growth in Saudi cities, including Jeddah. The RMJM message was unheeded.

In light of these developments and in less than 10 years there was the need for another master plan for the city. The task was assigned to Jackson International/Saudi Consultant (SJI/Sc) (Abdulghani 1993; Konash 1984). The SJI/Sc plan suggested some projects, including the redevelopment of the old airport and other commercial and recreational projects, in addition to a mass transit system. Most of these projects were never implemented due to rapid growth and missed coordination opportunities between local and central administration.

A pattern of rapid growth and the failure to implement the recommendations of the plans led to poor control of the city's growth. In addition, there was a lack of land development controls resulting in a dispersed, patchy urban growth pattern, including the spread of illegal developments and leap-frog development (Mandeli 2008; Mubararak 2004), forcing the government to try to control this growth through urban growth boundary studies and an urban limits study for a number of Saudi cities, including Jeddah (Knaap 1985).

An urban limit study was mooted for Jeddah between 1985 and 1987. This study was later developed to accord with the urban boundary policy by MOMRA, which was

aiming to control urban development and the problems of leap-frogging development and urban sprawl (Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004). However, the policy did not work as planned and the problems were not effectively controlled. This may be because of the nature of urban problems such as urban sprawl and leap-frogging that require the control of many aspects of urban boundary policy that MOMRA is unable to control, such as the land market. Other authors, such as Al-Hathloul and Mughal (2004), highlighted the need for local-level involvement in these issues. This may also be evidence of the negatives of the overcentralised role MOMRA plays in controlling urban development. In this period the first local consultant was assigned (Al Somat) for this purpose (Municipality 1987).

This pattern of growth slowed due to the Iraq and Iran War and the Gulf War. The state of the economy was badly affected and, in addition, the oil prices dropped in the early 1990s. As a result of all these economic factors, the state funding of the development projects decreased, further affecting the city's growth.

The urban problems remained however. With the lack of services and infrastructure, the problems of slums and illegal development across the city were exacerbated. The recession continued without any substantial development in the planning process for the city until the beginning of the 2000s, when there was a decision to prepare a new plan for the city to deal with the developments that had occurred during this period. This was assigned to another local consultant (the Al Beaa Consultant Group) for its preparation.

The next section deals with each plan separately, in more critical detail.

3.3 Jeddah's urban plans

3.3.1 Dr Makhlouf's plan of 1963

As mentioned earlier, Dr Makhlouf came under the guidance of the United Nations to help in the organisation and establishment of the planning system. His task included preparing a number of plans, the most important of which was the planning of Jeddah as a model of practice under which many Saudi cadres could be trained. At this stage, Dr Makhlouf faced many constraints, including a lack of information and resources to help complete the plan properly (Makhlouf 1985, p. 196). However, despite these difficulties, Dr Makhlouf dealt with the situation to complete the first plan.

The plan was prepared to cover an area of 700 km² shaped by topographical factors and thus being highly elongated north to south parallel to the sea. The objectives included:

- strengthening the existing and future jobs of the city
- achieving a balance and interdependence between the needs of the population
- achieving parallelism between the present uses
- developing appropriate site conditions and linkages to the regional city
- creating new urban growth trends.

Dr Makhoulf worked with a group of local cadres to achieve these goals. They gathered information to complete an initial study prior to the preparation of the plan. Participation from outside the working group was very limited, and the work on the plan was traditional. All the maps were drawn on a 1:50,000 scale, resulting in a general land use plan and a road network neither precise nor detailed.

The generality of the plan is evident in the significant difference between the two figures predicting future population capacity: 1.1 to 2 million people.

The proposed uses included the following:

- emerging areas within the urban boundary (the University City, sports city, the agricultural area)
- areas proposed in the south (the expansion of population, services, and facilities)
- areas proposed in the north (new international airport, the exploitation of the entire sea coast).

A road network was proposed to link these areas, including three major roads linking the north and south of the city as follows:

- Corniche Road from the north to Shuaiba in the south
- Medina-Jizan Road.

An external ring road linking the city of Mecca and Jeddah:

- The plan suggested the distribution of population density of the city would be: 100–150 people/hectare within the existing urban area, and 50–100 people/hectare for the proposed new areas of expansion. No public participation was considered in the plan's preparation process. This included setting the goals and determining future growth directions.

3.3.2 RMJM's plan of 1973

Economic variables in the early 1970s pushed the government to prepare a plan for the City of Jeddah. As mentioned earlier, it was assigned to the British consultant RMJM for preparation. The plan was prepared to cover an area of 800 km², relying on information from a sample survey of 5%, which was conducted by the Statistics Division in Riyadh (RMJM 1973). Information from the sample indicated that the population density of the town was 450 inhabitants per hectare and the expectation of population growth was between 880,000 to 1.06 million by 1991.

Because of the high population density in the city the consultant suggested that the density of the plan be approved at 100 inhabitants/hectare. As usual, the decision was made by the central administration to adopt the plan based on this density without the participation or input of local public planners or developers. After its adoption, work on a number of requirements and objectives for the preparation of the plan was started as follows:

A. water and energy

- B. public health
- C. road network at regional and local levels
- D. public transport system
- E. appropriate mix of income groups to maintain social cohesion and wellbeing as part of city growth and development
- F. religious, medical, educational, administrative and recreational facilities
- G. local industry and employment
- H. business and commercial activities within the city centre development
- I. city growth controls
- J. development controls
- K. safeguarding of buildings and areas of architectural and historic value
- L. development of flexible planning techniques and methodology
- M. data storage.

(RMJM 1973, p. 94)

With the exception of objective L, all the objectives related to physical planning. Objective L related to the planning process itself, and RMJM anticipated changes during its development and warned that implementation of the plan may be problematic. As urban planning is a dynamic process, the consultants also ensured that the ministry was aware that its 20-year population projections were not reliable. Duncan (1987), the RMJM representative, noted:

The writer remembers vividly the presentation of these [demographic] projections to the High Committee responsible for the approval of the consultants' work. The thorough and reasoned methodology which had

led up to the preparation of these projections was appreciated. However, with such a vast difference between the high and low predictions, inevitably the question was asked why has it taken so long to reach an imprecise conclusion? Had a single estimate of population been tabled for the year 1991, backed up by an impressive array of statistics and computer print-outs, there is no doubt that the High Committee would have been more impressed. But a discussion on how misleading such a conclusion would have been did much to make the Committee Members more aware of the nature of planning and that any specific estimate which spans a 20-year forward time period would inevitably be wrong. From this discussion emerged a better understanding of how planning should be seen as a process rather than a finite ‘once and for all’ answer to city – or regional – growth and change. This was an important step forward (pp. 107–108).

General objectives for the plan were as follows:

- improvement and maintenance of public health
- formation of a network that serves the city
- improvement of public mass transport
- achievement of a balance in population density
- support of development activities
- development and promotion of local industry
- protection of the historic district.

A plan had been prepared with a map scale of 1:10.000, including maps of the distribution of land use and zoning maps, in addition to the preparation of maps on a 1:1000 scale for action area plans and reports (RMJM 1973). Local cadres participated in the preparation of this plan that was bigger than the previous one. Despite this participation, the plan orientation reflected ‘international neighborhood standards for Jeddah, without reference to local cultural backgrounds and lifestyles’ (Glasze & Alkhayyal 2002).

3.3.3 SJI/SC’s plan of 1978

After the emergence of many problems due to increased growth, SJI/SC was appointed as mentioned above for the preparation of a new plan. In fact, it was an update of the previous plan. The plan was prepared on an area of 1000 km² and included the following basic objectives:

- to reduce densities and balance among the population and places of work and shopping
- to distinguish between land use to achieve a good residential environment
- to improve standards of health and social care
- to provide high levels of transport
- to provide for the needs of different services
- to establish facilities for future development along the coastal plain

- to develop away from the slopes of the mountains.

It was decided to work to a population density of between 50–250 people/hectare to accommodate the proposed population of 1.06 million to 2.25 million. There was no participation from the public in the preparation of the outline but there was communication with several government agencies in the initial stages.

3.3.4 Al Somat's plan of 1987

The first local consultant assigned to the task of preparing a plan for the city of Jeddah was Al Somat. With help from overseas experts he wrote the Jeddah plan of 1987. The intentions of this plan were mentioned earlier and linked to the preparation of an urban limit study. It is considered to be an update to the previous plan reflecting changes happening on the ground. The difference was the inclusion of policies to better control the spread of the city, so reducing problems that resulted from unregulated growth.

The plan set out a growth schedule at time intervals for an area now of 1875 km². It sought to:

- address the problems of irregular growth
- generate orderly growth in the extended areas
- meet the growing demand for residential areas
- provide a road network extension to the new areas
- provide the required services to residential areas

- provide a balance between land use.

The coordination of government agencies in this plan was greater than the previous ones, the aim being to tie adopted urban policies to implementation mechanisms. However, wider participation was not considered in a plan that directly affected the living conditions of up to 2.2 million people.

3.3.5 Al Beea's plan of 2005

In the early 1990s the development rate declined because of the influence of the first Gulf War and the subsequent constrained economic situation of the country. Many development projects came to a halt and the budgets of the Jeddah municipality and other government agencies did not allow for new projects. Budgets until the early 2000s were designed only to maintain the city.

This aggravated many urban problems. For example, incomplete road network development projects meant that traffic congestion became common across the city. The guiding plan needed to be updated. For this, a decision was made to hire the Al Beea Consultation Group, a Saudi consultant, to prepare yet a new plan for Jeddah. Work on the plan started in 2003 and finished in 2005.

Not much written material can be found about the Al Beea plan because it was not taken up by the municipality. This might be because Jeddah had a new mayor. The mayor is a powerful man and he likely had different priorities. Even if he had wanted to continue

on as before, as noted, government spending on new development projects fell away. Whatever the exact reasons, there is little documentary material to draw on.

The plan extended to the administrative boundary of Jeddah, which was 2400 km² at that time. The plan's stated goals were:

- 1- to make Jeddah more sustainable by providing for the pattern of the physical environment, providing procedures that enable the optimum use of resources and improving the environment
- 2- to make Jeddah a better place to live by improving housing and public services
- 3- to make Jeddah thrifty economically by providing a suitable physical pattern for growth and economic renewal and job availability
- 4- to improve social equity by avoiding segregation between poor and rich areas and by improving job training and housing opportunities for people with low incomes
- 5- to facilitate traffic movement in the city by improving roads and the public transport system, and by using environmentally friendly options, for example, better walking conditions
- 6- to optimise land use by encouraging mixed-use development and the better allocation of urban land.

Also, as stated in the plan, the adapted development strategy aimed to make Jeddah a more attractive, sustainable city with complete services, a city to be:

- 1- a commercial market for the region, the kingdom, and the surrounding countries
- 2- an entertainment and tourism city at the local, regional and global levels
- 3- an education and medical city at the national level
- 4- a city specialising in electronic manufacturing
- 5- a city with a free economic zone to benefit from its location on major transportation routes.

The plan's intention was to accommodate 4.6 million residents by 2030.

From its goals and strategies it is concluded that the plan was more comprehensive in its orientation: terms such as sustainability, environmental improvement, environmentally-friendly economic growth, economic renewal, and social equity, absent from the previous plans, were included.

However, it lacked detail and implementation procedures as with all the previous plans. That said the plan included new procedures not part of the previous plans, such as conducting workshops between local-level agencies to increase their involvement in making decisions regarding the plan. Also a number of public hearings were held at Jeddah's university and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry to allow for some kind of participation that was not available through the previous plans.

3.4 Overall analysis

The five plans discussed in this chapter have not previously been evaluated together (Abdu, Salagoor & AL-Harigi 2002; Al-Meer 1989; Duncan 1987; Konash 1984; Mandeli 2008; Pollack 2002).

Here, selected criteria are used to evaluate each plan, and to compare them. A search of the literature was unsuccessful in identifying directly relevant criteria that could be used in Jeddah's particular planning context. However, Baer (1997) provided generalised criteria that could be adapted to Jeddah's experience. Baer widened the criteria generally used in town planning analysis from just the spatial and technical aspects to include the perspective of those whom planning affects, that is, the stakeholders. He put forward eight sets of criteria to assess plans: adequacy of planning context; conceptual basis; procedural validity; adequacy of scope; guidance for implementation; methodology and data; quality of communication; and plan format. In Baer's full article under each criteria there are up to 8 or 9 sub-categories with suggested flow-on questions. In this thesis these have been consolidated and reduced. With five plans and eight sets of criteria we have 40 different matters to critically consider.

The researcher was interested in a set of criteria that would enable him to evaluate the plan-making process. The set of criteria looking at the process from a general perspective and considering the techniques behind the plan does not adapt or consider a political or theoretical position nor suit the Saudi administrative situation. A search of the

available literature shows that Baer (1997), with his general criteria, is the closest in terms of the uniqueness of the process of making master plans for Jeddah. Baer provided a general set of criteria that looks at the process. What makes Baer's criteria valid to this research is the availability of data required to evaluate the plans thoroughly. Baer's approach is more interested in the story of the plan-making and what the plan includes in its contents. The data required to evaluate the plans through this approach was easy to collect and available to the researcher. Also, the generality of Baer's criteria without consideration of a political or theoretical position was an apposite aspect of its selection for the purpose of this research.

Although the plans evaluated in this chapter were made in different times with different theoretical positions appropriate at the time in which they were made, they were considered best international practice in their implementation. However, the researcher in this chapter looks at the plans through the lens of sustainable development and with the benefit of hindsight we would have had plans that were not blueprints.

Despite all the negative points discussed in this chapter, the researcher would like to emphasise that the plans positively helped to a degree in allocating major land use and highways in the rash period of development that Jeddah witnessed in its early development.

To assess the five Jeddah plans under each criterion, a notional score of 1 to 10 was used, with 1 signifying total absence, 5 a partial presence, and 10, a complete

presence. The assessment was made as objectively as possible using the researcher's professional knowledge of planning systems generally and the Jeddah experience in particular. The matrix in Table 3.1 gives an overall evaluation of the plans plus notional scores. Out of 80 they are: Makhlouf 12; Mathio 23; Jackson 28; Al Somat 33; Al-Beaa 46. An upward trend is indicated, the Al-Beaa plan being the only one with a total score above 50%. Reducing things to a single number can be misleading but for the sake of simple comparison it is a useful though limited method. See Table 3.1, which scores each of the five adopted plans against Baer's criteria.

Criteria	Plan				
	Dr Makhoulf (1963)	Robert Mathio (1973)	Sir Jackson (1978)	Al Somat (1987)	Al-Beaa (2005)
Adequacy of context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The responsibility of a single agency * The plan project motivations: there was no plan * Decisions on the plan by individuals (Experts, the planners) * No involvement of other agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The responsibility of a single agency * The plan project motivations: the changes on the ground and the development rate * Decisions by individuals and government officials * Limited involvement from other governmental agencies many in implementation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The responsibility of a single agency * The plan project motivations: the changes on the ground and the development rate * Decisions by individuals and government officials * Limited involvement from other governmental agencies many in implementation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The responsibility of a single agency * The plan project motivations: up date and the development rate * Decisions by individuals and government officials * Limited involvement from other governmental agencies many in implementation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The responsibility of a single agency * The plan project motivations: the need for a new plan * Decisions by individuals and government officials * Limited involvement from other governmental agencies in implementation and preparation
	1	2	2	3	5
Model of thinking Consideration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Adapted the Rational Model of Thinking * By foreign consultant * Details of the rational thinking behind decisions is not enough * Decisions on goal-setting, alternatives, and priorities are not scientifically justified * Decisions on the plan by Individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Adapted the Rational Model of Thinking * By foreign consultant * Details of the rational thinking behind decisions is not enough * Decisions on goal-setting, alternatives, and priorities are not scientifically justified * Decisions on the plan by Individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Adapted the Rational Model of Thinking * By foreign consultant * Details of the rational thinking behind decisions is not enough * Decisions on goal-setting, alternatives, and priorities are not scientifically justified * Decisions on the plan by individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Adapted the Rational Model of Thinking * By local consultant * Details of the rational thinking behind decisions is not enough * Decisions on goal-setting, alternatives, and priorities are not scientifically justified * Decisions on the plan by individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Adapted the Rational Model of Thinking with consideration to cultural and environmental aspects (raised the issue of sustainability) * By local consultant * Details of the rational thinking behind decisions is not enough * Decisions on goal-setting, alternatives, and priorities are not scientifically justified * Decisions on the plan by individuals
	3	5	6	7	8
Procedural validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No clarification for procedures to coordinate between stockholders in the stages of the planning process * No involvement of other agencies or the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No clarification for procedures to coordinate between stockholders in the stages of the planning process * Limited involvement from urban agencies in the implementation stages (meeting) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No clarification for procedures to coordinate between stockholders in the stages of the planning process * Limited involvement from urban agencies in the implementation stages (meeting) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No clarification for procedures to coordinate between stockholders in the stages of the planning process * Limited involvement from urban agencies in the implementation and preparation stages (meetings) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No clarification for procedures to coordinate between stockholders in the stages of the planning process * Limited involvement from urban agencies in the implementation and preparation stages (meeting and workshops) * Limited public involvement in the preparation stages (some workshops and public presentation were held)
	1	2	3	4	5
Adequacy of scope	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan covered and considered physical and economic issues only * The plan covered one scenario only * Limited consideration to post-plan stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan covered and considered physical and economic issues only * The plan covered one scenario only * Limited consideration to post-plan stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan covered and considered physical and economic issues only * The plan covered one scenario only * Limited consideration to post-plan stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan covered and considered physical and economic issues only * The plan covered one scenario only * Limited consideration to post-plan stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan covered and considered physical and economic issues mainly but show some consideration to some environmental and social issues * The plan covered one scenario only * Limited consideration to post-plan stages
	1	3	4	5	8
Guidance for implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No detailed implementation program to show schedule, priorities, responsibilities, roles, and budget * No implementation plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No detailed implementation program to show schedule, priorities, responsibilities, roles, and budget * Not enough implementation plans (few action plans) * Rough calculation of the costs only 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No detailed implementation program to show schedule, priorities, responsibilities, roles, and budget * Not enough implementation plans (few action plans) * Rough calculation of the costs only 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No detailed implementation program to show schedule, priorities, responsibilities, roles, and budget * Not enough implementation plans (some action plans) * Rough calculation of the costs only 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * No detailed implementation program to show schedule, priorities, responsibilities, roles, and budget * Implementation plan without enough details * Rough calculation of the costs only
	1	2	3	3	4
Approach, data and methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Problems with data availability * Based on a limited population sample technique * Interest on data collection was just for the pre-plan stages * There was no data collection method for the post-plan stages * The data and methodology were made to a plan not to conduct a planning process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Problems with data availability * Based on a population sample technique * Interest on data collection was just for the pre-plan stages * There was no data collection method for the post-plan stages * The data and methodology were made to a plan not to conduct a planning process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Problems with data availability * Based on a population sample technique * Interest on data collection was just for the pre-plan stages * There was no data collection method for the post-plan stages * The data and methodology were made to a plan not to conduct a planning process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Problems with data availability * Based on a population sample technique * Interest on data collection was just for the pre-plan stages * There was no data collection method for the post-plan stages * The data and methodology were made to a plan not to conduct a planning process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Problems with data availability * Based on a population sample technique * Interest on data collection was just for the pre-plan stages * Workshops were held to collect data for goal-setting and need assessment * There was no data collection method for the post-plan stages * The data and methodology were made to a plan not to conduct a planning process
	2	4	4	4	6
Quality of communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Communication was limited to governmental agencies * Communication started in the implementation stage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Communication was limited to governmental agencies * Effective communication started in the implementation stage * Communication in pre-plan stages limited to government agencies to collect data and maps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Communication was limited to governmental agencies * Effective communication started in the implementation stage * Communication in pre-plan stages limited to government agencies to collect data and maps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Communication was limited to governmental agencies * Effective communication started in the implementation stage * Communication in pre-plan stages limited to government agencies to collect data and maps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Limited communication with the public and government agencies has been done * Effective communication started in the implementation stage * Communication in pre-plan stages limited to government agencies to collect data, maps and set goals and objectives
	1	2	3	3	4
Plan format	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan format and language were not for the public * The plan format and language were not clear and detailed enough to work as an implementation guide for urban agencies * The plan is in a report language and format 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan format and language were not for the public * The plan format and language were not clear enough to work as an implementation guide for urban agencies * The plan is in a report language and format 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan format and language were not for the public * The plan format and language were not clear enough to work as an implementation guide for urban agencies * The plan is in a report language and format 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan format and language were not for the public * The plan format and language were not clear enough to work as an implementation guide for urban agencies * The plan is in a report language and format 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The plan format and language were for the public but not good enough * The plan format and language were not clear enough to work as an implementation guide for urban agencies
	2	3	3	4	6

Table 3.1: Evaluation and comparison of Jeddah's planners

Adequacy of context

Baer (1997) considers the context and setting of a plan. He was interested in its legal context, the administrative authority, and the preparing agency. Here the institutional arrangements within which the plan fits are considered so that the following question can be asked: Has the plan been designed to recognise and fit within wider institutional arrangements?

Using this criterion it is clear that none of the plans seriously considered the reality of the existing institutional arrangements in their design, especially in the post-planning or implementation stage.

The plans assumed a single agency was acting alone through the whole process. The municipality was considered to be responsible for the plan's preparation, write-up and implementation, so limiting the involvement of other urban actors in the planning process, this having a negative effect.

However, this gradually improved over time. For example, if we look to the first plan, Dr Makhlouf's plan, it was mainly done by him alone. But later plans did involve some sort of wider degree of stakeholder involvement. However, this did not mean a sharing of responsibilities. The institutional arrangements remained the same: all the plans were dominated by a single agency, the municipality.

Mode of thinking

Baer (1997) then considers the mode of thinking behind a plan.

Generally, all the plans draw on the ‘Rational Model’ of thinking though the later ones show some degree of respect for the local cultural setting. Most of the ideas, even though they may have been state of the art in planning and urban design in the West at that time, were imported ideas and imposed on the local culture and community. The last plan though shows more respect for local cultural values in considering, for example, the role of mosques in Jeddah’s built form and daily life.

The plans, even if they were evaluated against a rational model of thinking, missed a fundamental consideration of the rational mode of thinking: the plans did not include a justification for many of the actions proposed. For example, the decisions on densities were arbitrary, no explanations being given. This also includes the choice of the plans’ objectives and means used to monitor their performances.

Another general point worth mentioning here is the lack of availability of reliable data to justify this rational mode of thinking (see under Methodology and Data below).

Procedural validity

The plan-making process and its validity is the third criterion. It is important here to clarify the difference between this criterion and the first, adequacy of context. The adequacy of context is more about how the plan fits within the wider setting of the institutional system, whereas the interest here is more on how a plan internally works, including the pre-plan, planning and post-plan stages.

The preparation stages, where vision, goals and objectives are identified, centre on the municipality. The involvement of other governmental and non-governmental agencies was very limited. The involvement of these and other stockholders increased from one plan to the next, however. For example, in the second and third plans there were some meetings with governmental agencies to gauge their needs; by the fifth plan, the Al Beea Plan, their involvement increased, including more than just government agencies, and had taken different forms such as workshops.

The same could be said of the plan stage, where important decisions are made about design alternatives and plan options.

This was also the case in the post-plan or the implementation stage but involvement was limited to governmental agencies in the last plans. Important urban actors were not involved in plan monitoring and evaluation.

Adequacy of scope

Baer was interested in checking whether all possible or pertinent issues were considered. Here, consideration centres on the general categories of physical, social, economic and environmental issues.

Generally, the physical and economic issues dominated the plans' scope. The level of detail increased over time. But only in the fifth plan is some interest shown in

discussing environmental and social issues. For example, the ideas of sustainability and unemployment are raised and related to decision-making.

Also, as to economic issues, the plans were generalised and mainly cover one scenario. The plans did not consider future changes in the country's circumstances and did not plan for the shortage of money flow likely given the boom-bust nature of the economy. The plans did not provide implementation and maintenance alternatives in situations when the oil income decreased.

One could argue that comprehensiveness is impossible and plans can't do everything. However, the level of physical, economic, social and environmental considerations was generally minimal and the evidence for this is in Jeddah's poor built environment. The limited consideration of economic matters in the plans did not take account of the boom and bust nature of the economy.

Guidance for implementation

Baer considers the instruments, the methods and agencies responsible for implementation. In this research the criteria has been adapted to answering the question: (w)hat degree of implementation guidance was set out in the plans?

Generally, the plans were very weak on this criterion. There were no clear implementation programs in the plans to clarify responsibilities, roles, schedules and priorities. Plans calculate implementation costs but not in a detailed way. The plans took

a project-based approach. Also, the plans did not set out possible techniques to evaluate, monitor and assess the implementation of the plans.

All the plans assumed that the work would be done smoothly and disregarded the fact that all major decisions are taken in Riyadh. The plans failed to take into account that planning and development work is done through different agencies separate from each other, and in Saudi Arabia, is project-based. The government and budget arrangements were not considered in the plans' implementation stages. There were few differences between the plans on this criterion.

Approach, data and methodology

This criterion centres on answering the question: What were the research bases of the plans?

Generally, the data availability was an issue for all plans. All plans were built on limited data. Some plans' methodologies were based on sampling, but of a crude, unrepresentative kind. Data collection was mainly considered only at the planning stage, not at the post-plan stage. Very little consideration was given to monitoring any of the plans' later performances.

Quality of communication

Generally, the plans did not specify how information was to be communicated between agencies. Communications with the public were very limited. Only in the last plan were workshops to be held with professionals in the pre-plan stage and some public hearings in the post-plan stage.

Plan format

Baer considers the format of the plan to be important and specifically looking at for whom the plan is written.

These plans were not written for a wider public – that is understandable in the Saudi Arabian situation. However, they were not written for governmental agencies as an implementation guide either. The plans were written more as reports for the municipality rather than as plans with a clear research base, a detailed plan as to what goes where and why, and a clear implementation strategy. There was no sense of a significant change in plan format over time.

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter considered past plans for Jeddah. After providing descriptive and analytical overviews of each of the five plans, an evaluation through a set of criteria adapted from Baer (1997) has been conducted.

Overall, the researcher notes that the plans lack the flexibility to respond to a rapidly changing environment. Focusing on static maps has proved to be a hindrance. Further, that plans were project-driven rather than being an ongoing program to be continually monitored, with feedback loops and thus adjustments to suit the prevailing circumstances. Also, Jeddah's plans were typified by the traditional approach of physical land use and transport projects with maps, integrating few other urban policy considerations, such as rural-to-city migration and land grants resulting in uncontrolled urban sprawl and often illegal, leap-frogging growth.

This review of the previous master plans for Jeddah reflects the narrow, technocratic, centralised approach of the time, where there was little consideration of users or stakeholders in the process. Participation by those who would eventually use the plans, that is, society and the private sector, was non-existent. There was also a lack of local coordination or even inter-departmental communications, so that agencies were unaware of the environment in which their projects were placed, or what the projects offered in terms of expected outcomes.

Most decisions that affect Jeddah's built form are made centrally and there was no local over-arching planning agency in place to effectively implement them by coordinating other relevant agencies' work. There is limited evidence that the plans were written to be sensitive to local physical, economic, social and environmental considerations. Even in terms of rational thinking, there is no clear research base and no defensible justification given to the plans' proposals. The plans lack flexibility, continuity, coordination, participation and comprehensiveness.

Chapter 4: Governance and planning – a literature review

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we suggested that physical planning is only one stage in the entire planning process. Even the writers of past plans for Jeddah have opined that Jeddah needs to do more than develop plans on paper to manage its growth and development. For example, the Wilson-Murrow study of Jeddah (1966) included a note to the mayor to say ‘most of Jeddah’s problems can only be properly and effectively solved through studies and long-range continuing planning’ (cover page). To that end, that study suggested the establishment of a commission to coordinate the work between public and private agencies in the city and the expansion of the scope and responsibilities of the local authority vis-à-vis the central government: in effect, greater decentralisation whereby local governments exercise more control over the affairs of their cities. G Duncan, the chief planner of RMJM, who developed the Jeddah plan of 1973, wrote of his team’s learning curve as achieving ‘a better understanding of how planning should be seen as a process rather than a finite “one and for all” answer to city – or regional – growth and change. This was an important step for the government’ (Duncan, 1987, p. 108). If the testimonies of Jeddah’s past planners count for anything, they suggest that any review of the planning literature (which is the aim of this chapter) should better situate physical planning not only in a wider planning context but one that takes account of both cultural and institutional factors. The author’s thread of thinking about planning as having a more

bottom-up social practice base was provided by Rakodi, who stated: ‘traditional approaches to land use planning in developing countries have proved of limited value ... Attention must concentrate on governance arrangements, politics and the process of decision making. Without this, spatial development plans are unlikely to be any more useful than in the past’ (Rakodi, 2001, p. 209). Along these lines, the intention in this chapter is to explore the relationships between urban governance and planning in order to give the concepts of participation, flexibility and continuity in the planning process more attention with respect to delivering more effective planning in Jeddah, thus building on the findings of Chapter 2.

The approach adopted in this chapter is interested is to review urban governance literature with regard to introducing it to the reader in the context of urban planning. Defining and linking urban governance and its importance to effective urban planning is the purpose of this chapter. Major key words used to conduct this review are: urban planning, governance, urban governance, spatial planning, and local governance arrangements. The strategy was to use these key words to search in libraries, electronic databases, and journals. The chapter begins with some broad definitions of governance and how, historically, the concept has unfolded. A review of urban governance and the planning literature follows.

4.2 Governance: a brief overview

Governance is a much-contested idea, dominated by no single theory or definition. (Beaumont, Giersig & Heins 2006, p. 9). Depending on one's purpose, governance can be defined as a theory, as a normative model or as an empirical study (Pierre 2005, p. 451fn).

Here, governance is considered to be wider in scope than the word 'government'. In this regard the general dictionary definition is of limited assistance, indicating only that governance is a synonym for government, or 'the act or process of governing, specifically authoritative direction and control' (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, (Gove & Merriam-Webster 1986, p. 982). However, the working definition used by the British Council emphasises that governance is a broader notion than government (and for that matter also, related concepts like the state, good government and regime) (Schedler & Scharf 2001). Governance, according to the British Council, not only encompasses the workings of the state, government, regime, but transcends them in supplying a purpose for their collaborative activity.

Understanding the interaction between civil society and government gives meaning to governance. In this regard the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) specified governance as the political and administrative management of a country. Governance, the UNDP continued, comprises the processes and institutions that citizens

and groups use to mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations (Wacker, Viaro & Wolf 1999).

What is important here to this research is the concept of ‘urban governance’: the formal and sometimes less formal interaction between civil society and government at the city level that affect the residents’ living environments at this scale. In the context of this study, urban governance is defined by the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT) as:

‘... the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens’ (UN-HABITAT 2002, p. 17).

The next section discusses the idea of ‘urban governance’ further and links it to urban planning.

4.3 Urban governance and planning

The term ‘urban governance’ gained currency as many centralised nation-state functions have devolved to local government units, NGOs, and even to profit-based enterprises within cities (UN-HABITAT 2002). This has logically brought attention to the role of urban planning among professional policy makers. During a session on urban planning at the World Urban Forum in 2004, questions were raised as to whether good

governance is a substitute for planning, and whether planning has any significant role at all in market-led economic development (Narang 2004). In order to remain relevant in this context, and more importantly, to be able to meet the contemporary challenges of urbanisation, poverty, and exclusion, planning in theory and practice needs to redefine its goals and mechanisms.

Traditionally, urban planning was conceived as the means by which governments could control and deliver development to city dwellers. It aimed to provide a long-term template for urban development based on comprehensive analysis of the physical and human geography of a town or city. Planning was driven by the visions, goals and strategies that seemed, to local power brokers, to produce the best development outcome. At its best, planning guaranteed public health and safety, a humane living environment, efficient service delivery, economic opportunity and development, and social cohesion; while at its worst, it produced grandiose visions divorced from reality, stifled creativity and pleasant everyday life under an onerous technocratic, bureaucratic and security structure, and failed to foresee future demographic, economic and environmental trends (Taylor 2004). Urban planning gained a reputation as a top-down, decision-making process, imposing a set of strict and restrictive rules maladapted to establishing the effective and fair use of land and resources.

The impression left by the failures of master planning, the dominant planning approach, are regularly cited to prove the point, and to justify the paradigm shift articulated, for instance, in the World Bank's definition of governance, cited above.

In the 1980s this approach of relying strongly on the state in public affairs was challenged by new-liberal or neo-liberal thinking encouraged by the failure of master planning. Ideas like deregulation, privatisation, and market-led development were raised, based on a reduced role for the state in public affairs. They quickly took hold in the West and beyond. Planners in the late 1980s and 1990s moved from the role of urban managers to that of urban entrepreneurs (Harvey 1989).

Neo-liberal thinking in turn has been challenged and linked to urban issues, such as inequity and exclusion (Jackson 2009; Narang & Reutersward 2005). This dissatisfaction over the results of the neo-liberal thoughts has given rise to third-way schools of thought that argue for a middle way between state and private sector domination. A key academic for the third-way school is Anthony Giddens (2000). He worries about social inequity caused by market-led approaches in city development and calls for a selective government intervention at the local or city level:

... we will need less national government, less central government, but greater governance over local processes (p. 5).

He also sees the role of central government to be to:

create macro-economic stability, promote investment in education and infrastructure, contain inequality and guarantee opportunities for individual self-realization (p. 164).

This new framework, third-way of thought that synthesises features of old top-down urban direction and bottom-up or local responses, has added impetus to the interest in urban governance. It allows us to explore the possibility of renewed state intervention but now of a more muted kind, one open to the involvement of other stakeholders in the planning process. It allows us to respond to the call for more participation in planning and to make sense of emergent social movements (Friend, Power & Yewlett 1974; Gerlach & Hine 1970; Tilly 1978). This call to involve interactive networks of social actors in planning has also been made by Tarrow (1994) and Melucci (2000).

What has been termed the ‘communicative turn’ in planning theory has become extremely well documented (Booher & Innes 2002; Healey 1992, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2006a; Innes 1995, 2004; Innes & Booher 1999a, 1999b, 2000). It is therefore not the intention here to cover such ground again. What is important here is showing how the idea developed from a call for participation in planning to its practical implementation in building real communication networks (with transparency, lower bars to access, and accountability) between social actors to succeed in planning. Communication here is the keystone that supplies the mechanism for the necessary coordination between all groups of urban actors and is thus at the heart of urban governance.

However, critics of the ‘communicative turn’ in planning argue it ignores power relations and their implications. Recent scholarship has been more attentive to issues such as power (Agranoff & McGuire 2003; Berry et al. 2004; Diani & McAdam 2003; McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2001). Such authors accept the limits to facilitating more inclusive planning processes leading to more environmentally, socially and economically

desirable outcomes. Arguably, the ‘communicative turn’ and urban governance as discussed here have little or no relevance to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a point addressed later in the thesis.

Having surveyed the broad definitions given to governance and its importance in relationship to the history of planning in the West since World War II, the next section explores the political relationships between government and governance.

4.4 Government and governance

When the concept of governance emerged in the mid-1980s, it originally came out of economic theory, where it was used to describe the influence of hierarchical structures on transaction costs (Benz 2004, p. 15). But it was soon borrowed by a number of social sciences, so becoming a truly interdisciplinary concept (Schuppert 2006). In political science the governance concept was linked to the changing role of the state (Mayntz & Scharpf 1995). In classical political theory, the state-‘steered’ existing social systems included actors from the civil society and private actors. But in the 1980s this image of the helmsman state was increasingly challenged as new models, oriented to efficiency and the real time adaptation of an organisation to new information inputs, showed that the state alone was too slow, too inefficient, too prone to rent-seeking to solve the increasingly complex problems of society. The preferred concept of state action changed from a robustly interventionist one, the *Steuerungsstaat*, to a cooperative state (where

‘state and non-state actors participate in mixed public/private networks’ – Mayntz, 2004, p. 27). Thus the distinct division between a steering subject (government) and object (the various groups that constitute the nation state) disappeared. In the cooperative state, input from affected non-state actors became crucial to the design of societal rules and the regulatory framework (Mayntz 2004). This change in the meaning of statehood naturally had an urban dimension when the classical steering model between municipality and society fell into disrepute. Meanwhile, new ways of managing cities entailed changes to the role of the local government and the encouragement of a stepped-up role for private actors, with specific local concerns to the fore. This appearance of governance was observed to be one of the dominant tendencies in the political sphere throughout Europe. It had implications for all cities, for example, the character of local representative democracy in new governance arrangements (Denters 2006; Denters & Rose 2005).

Benz (2004, p. 19) frames the issue of governmentality as a classical coordination dilemma in which collective problems in a society that has limited resources are solved through some kind of political decision-making process. This implies a broad understanding of political processes. As Treib, Bahr and Falkner (2007) have pointed out, the division of the political sphere into the dimensions of polity, politics and policy provides analytical categories to define ‘the “universe” within which research on governance may be located’ (Treib, Bahr & Falkner 2007, p. 2). In this tripartite division, the political picture is as follows:

- Polity describes the institutional perspective in which political processes take place. In other words, political and other actors act in a framework of

authority, which consists of institutions, normative aspects and laws. This framework is described as the polity dimension. In the field of polity the shift from government to governance can be described as the increasing importance of the institutional structure, which combines elements of hierarchy, systems of negotiations and mechanisms of competition (Benz 2004, p. 21)

- Politics focuses on the actor perspective and the power relation between political and non-political actors (Treib, Bahr & Falkner 2007, p. 3). One question concerning politics is, for example, how political guidelines or urban development plans are made and the interplay of different actors in this process. Also, issues like conflicts and alliances are part of the politics dimension. The shift from urban government to urban governance acknowledges the greater importance, within the global system of capital, of negotiations between public and private actors concerning the steering of a city.

- The last dimension is policy: it gives us a perspective from which to view the content of political actions, namely, what are the objectives of the political process and how should particular policy goals be achieved? In the polity dimension of governance, aspects like the inclusion of non-public actors to reach political goals and the shift from universal planning approaches to a planning through projects approach mark the difference in forms of governmentality.

The main differences between government and governance in the polity, politics and policy dimensions are described in the following table.

	Government	Governance
Polity		
Number of institutions	Few	Many
Bureaucratic structure	Hierarchical, Consolidated	Decentred, Fragmented
Politics		
Networks	Closed/Minimal	Extensive
Power relations	Public authorities as steering subjects, private actors as steering objects	Unclear division between steering subjects and steering objects
Policy		
Mode of policies	Routinized	Innovative learning
Steering mode	Regulations and Norms, Commands or prohibition	Agreements and compromises

Table 4-1: Government and governance contrasted
Source: (Koch & Simmel 2007, p. 4) based on Albers 1993, (Benz 2004) and (John 2001)

In the next section we will examine more closely the planning effect of the paradigm switch from government to governance.

4.5 Why governance is important to planning

Planning, or more generally, the management of urban environments is intrinsically very complex and changeable (Choguill 2007; Harpham & Boateng 1997). This forces planners to be ‘open to possibility’, or in other words, not to be rigidly attached to one single and necessary protocol (Hillier, Jean 2007). Unfortunately, the traditional planning process closes down alternative possibilities for planning and management. Static land use and transportation plans miss the flexibility needed to effectively plan urban areas (Rakodi 2001).

Calls for privatising urban services are intended to make government roles in development more limited. Many features of development are now being designed and managed not only by private consultants but by NGOs. Arguably, it is better for participants in the implementation of these developments to be involved in the preparation of the urban strategies and plans (Hillier, Jean 2007; Salet, Thornley & Kreukels 2003). In these cases, the main role of government consists of coordinating activities between different actors and maintaining a macro view of development in the city.

The logic of complexity and change brings forth unexpected and emergent outcomes, which planners alone cannot 'plan' for. It is essential to work with a whole range of other participants and their networks to succeed in creating more humane environments, and counter negative emergent features, such as pollution. Each of these participants will bring to the process a variety of values (Hillier, J. 2002; Hillier, Jean 2007). This idea of the planners' role is also advocated by (Habermas 1984, 1987), (Forester 1989), (Hoch 1994) and (Healey 2006b).

4.6 Urban governance and strategic planning

UN-HABITAT's recent record illustrates the dictum that planning is still an indispensable tool in ensuring good governance. Planning does not have to be of the old-fashioned, top-down, technocratic master planning variety, but we do require strategic planning in order to keep the urban environment from degenerating into a Hobbesian jungle. Strategic planning must be selective, action-oriented and participatory in order to be adaptive – that is, in order to help the city as a whole respond to fast-moving events, to the negative externalities of the urban environment, to changes in demographics, and finally, to continuously improve the quality of life (Narang & Reutersward 2005). The strategic planner takes into account implementation capabilities, resources required, the need for interactive engagement with a broad range of stakeholders, and develops partnerships with civil society and the private sector, rather than relying largely on legal sanctions or the power to enforce.

Narang and Reutersward (2005) make the case for basing strategic planning and good governance on a normative foundation, emphasising the following points:

- **Public participation and civic engagement:** Public participation is critical to the new planning approaches and a hallmark of inclusive governance. All citizens, especially those who have been excluded in the past, like women and the poor, must be empowered to participate effectively in decision-making processes. Civic engagement implies that living together is not a passive exercise: in the urban

environment people continually contribute, for good or ill, to the lives of the collectivity. Planning under the governance paradigm, recognising this fact, seeks to actively enable members of the community to contribute to the common good. It helps create a sense of shared civic values and community rights and responsibilities that informally organise the appropriate environment for responsible public engagement.

- **Equity:** Equitable governance in cities implies inclusiveness with unbiased access (be it for the unemployed, women, children or the elderly, religious or ethnic minorities or the physically disabled) to the basic necessities of urban life. Pro-poor development planning requires nurturing equity in the face of more powerful, richer private actors and entities, with institutional priorities focusing on pro-poor policies and mechanisms for responding to the basic needs of the most vulnerable groups in society.

- **Accountability:** Accountability in urban governance addresses issues relating to transparency in local government, responsiveness towards the demands of higher levels of government as well as to the civic grievances of the local population, adherence to standards for professional and personal integrity, and maintaining the rule of law. These are also crucial considerations in the strategic planning approach.

The current challenges that emerge when cities grow quickly force planners to be adaptive, flexible and able to make and change decisions within a perpetually changing but, hopefully, improving governance system (Christensen 1999). This system should

shift planning when necessary from the bureaucratic approach to an open-ended decision-making process with pre-specified strategies (Christensen 1999, p. 129). Spatial planning will fail without a system of good governance to implement it (Hillier, J. 2002, 2003). Governance provides the order that allows stakeholders in the urban environment to feel that urban planning reflects their fundamental interests (Callon & Law 2004, p. 4).

Furthermore, as Healey (2006b) points out, governance is not simply a policy mechanism, but reflects and generates the deeper cultural currents that whirl around the dynamics of socio-economic changes.

4.7 Governance, strategic planning and adapting to rapid change

Over the past four decades there has been a significant increase in urban populations around the world (Narang & Reutersward 2005), and inversely, a population decrease in rural areas and the agricultural sector in the economy. This increase in urban population exerts tremendous pressure on old urban infrastructures. Further, this huge influx of an often-poor population, with diverse customs, activities and wants, challenges planning systems imposed from above. Governments alone have proved incapable of developing these urban areas through traditional top-down and authoritative methods. This creates an opening for different stakeholders to get involved in urban development and management.

The sheer scale of the parties engaged in urban life and the pressure of their often very different interests raises the level of complexity in planning, developing and managing urban areas. Such complexity challenges traditional sources of authority and implementation. For urban planning to effectively organise and manage urban areas, new approaches are necessary.

Given the speed of urban growth in developing countries, adaptive management practices that accept the dynamism of change and operate to maintain continuity without unrealistically blocking change are needed. Thus constant monitoring and evaluation is required, a feedback loop in the planning system, one that must be periodically reviewed in the light of new urban realities.

For the reasons stated above, Salet, Thornley and Kreukels (2003) believe that a challenge facing urban planning and development is the need for a considerable amount of coordination. They see three dimensions to coordination. The first is spatial, by which they mean that different levels of plans and policies must be consistent with each other and spatially integrated. The second is functional, serving to link different land uses and activities in the urban area within a strategy. And the third is sectoral, bringing together the intentions and resources of the public, private and voluntary sectors to maximise the coherence of the urban strategy and its implementation.

Salet, Thornley and Kreukels conclude from this that the task of coordination required to achieve comprehensive strategic planning at the metropolitan level requires a special institutional structure, and the key for this is the governance arrangements.

In sum, the analysis of the literature shows that according to state-of-the-art theory in urban planning, cities are best regarded as complex dynamic systems that are qualitatively changed by quantitative inputs. The fundamental task of planning – to coordinate stakeholder interests and ongoing projects – must allow for:

- participation: there must be access for all urban actors to make suggestions and vigorously represent their interests under the umbrella of unified development. Bureaucratic obstacles to implementation should be reduced
- flexibility: cities are in a continuous state of flux, and planning must deal with different priorities that arise from these changes
- continuity: to facilitate an effective planning and management process involves constant evaluation and adjustments in urban strategies rather than sudden wholesale changes.

(Fagotto & Fung 2006; Hillier, Jean 2007; McGill 1998; Rakodi 2001; Salet, Thornley & Kreukels 2003; Simpson & Chapman 1999)

The key to coordination is governance, which has a bearing on institutional arrangements and protocols and goals. Optimally, good governance allows all urban

stakeholders to work together in preparing and implementing comprehensive urban strategies in a flexible, continuous process.

If we are to achieve the broad planning outcomes we project at the beginning of the process, the argument we have sketched above, defining and historically locating governance, makes it evident that the governance arrangements within which urban and regional planning should operate have a tremendous impact on the entire planning process. The appropriate governance ideal is one that allows planning systems to be flexible, internally and externally well coordinated, and involving all stakeholders.

We have discussed these issues at a high level of abstraction, with some indication of the historical circumstances that have made them relevant. Yet when we look away from problems in the developed countries to those in less developed regions, we find certain specific problems that are not as well discussed. For instance, the high urbanisation rate in less developed countries points to the greater human capital gap between rural and urban areas in these countries, and the problems that result from a lack of financial and human resources to face the challenges of the sudden onset of fast urban growth (Narang & Reutersward 2005).

Rakodi (2001) argues that illegal development, lack of infrastructure and services, and the poor physical environment in developing countries are the result of a traditional approach to land use planning that has not changed much in the post-Colonial era. She

believes that what these countries need is to concentrate on governance to allow for a planning process with more participation for all urban actors and increased flexibility. Even though the situation in Saudi Arabia is different because of the wealth that flows from its primary product exports, the historical fact is that the traditional land use approach was embraced in Saudi Arabia as well in the period when it was still dominant in the urban planning field. Many local authors, such as (Mandeli 2008), believe that what Jeddah needs is increasing participation and a better arrangement between urban actors to ensure a better urban planning process.

4.8 Governance in different places and times

Most of the literature cited above is drawn from Western or liberal democratic experience. Saudi Arabia has its own cultural, political, economic and planning traditions and sets of practices.

The literature on governance and planning in Middle Eastern countries is limited, particularly with regard to Saudi Arabia, a gap this thesis is conscious of and which the discussion chapter below based on interview findings makes further comment on. Here the point being made is that the published literature to date shows that there is no universally fungible model – it is inherent to governance to be sensitive to varying circumstances. As Salet, Thornley and Kreukels (2003) point out, the lack of universal models makes it difficult to predict what good governance would look like in cities with

various socio-economic endowments. Each would require different governance arrangements.

Localising cases in space and time – their local area characteristics and their continuities and discontinuities over their history – is crucial. Webb (2003) has pointed out that ‘the specificity of such relations varies from case to case and order is thus localized in space and time, part of a shifting temporal, spatial and discursive topology’ (p. 228).

Webb’s point is that stability or order is fleeting in urban areas where the population is rapidly increasing and the load on resources has to be constantly monitored, which points to the need to constantly review governance arrangements to adapt to dynamic situations. Governance changes can consist of, for instance, different orders of priorities that match different emergent situations. Salet, Thornley and Kreukels have written that changing governance arrangements and flexibility in governance systems are very important to success in managing future metropolises, a conclusion they came to after studying nineteen European cities undergoing different governance changes as the political, demographic and resource profiles of the urban environment changed. Governance systems that prioritised fixed institutional responses lagged behind those that emphasised response-based policies in real time. Their study showed, as well, the importance of small local differences: what could work in a city would not necessarily work in another. In response to studies of this type, Hillier (2007) concludes that governance practices are very different from the governance theories that legitimate them, in as much as the latter tend to be universal, while the former are inflected by local differences in social and economic factors. She also believes that this is the case with

most of the planning theories. She argues that ‘theory can not simply set the standards which determine practice and also that practice can not directly determine theory’ (p. 9). Hillier explicitly links this argument to Deleuze and Foucault (1977), quoting Deleuze that ‘practice is a set of relays from one theoretical path to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another’ (pp. 205-6).

In conclusion, governance is a very sensitive and complex issue. How people participate, what issues need to be resolved through participation, what institutions should be used to encourage and implement participation, will necessarily vary with the local context. Therefore, it is difficult for any city to directly adapt a governance model or theory. Jeddah is no exception. Moreover, Jeddah has certain historically unique characteristics that require a governance system explicitly designed to match its local needs, relative to its cultural meaning for an international constituency of pilgrims that regularly travels through it.

4.9 Governance, strategic planning and Saudi Arabia

The review of urban governance in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah shows that very few authors are interested in this area. However, the authors who discussed urban governance in Saudi Arabia and Jeddah highlighted the centralized nature of the decision making system and its top-down implications (Al-Hathloul, S. & Mughal 2004; Almotairi 1995; Bianca 2000; Costa & Noble 1986; Daghistani, A 1991; Gamboa 2008; Garba 2004; UNHABITAT 2012).

As has been shown in the overview of the literature, the overwhelming opinion is that governance must be sensitive to the local context. For Jeddah, all the plans made for the city so far have concentrated on creating traditional physical models, projecting authoritative top-down implementation. So far, the trajectory of modern history in Jeddah indicates this has not worked, and there is no reason to think it will work in the future. From the previous discussion, it is apparent Jeddah must create its own governance arrangements, suitable to its distinctive history and present and future needs, so enabling any future plans and their planners to better realise their expressed intentions. This is discussed in the next and later chapters.

Also, the Saudi autocratic administrative system requires the use of a middle level approach that this thesis would like to adapt in all future discussion. The researcher believes that by adopting such an approach it would make the discussion and recommendations more practical and reasonable. For example, Hambleton (1986) discusses this idea of a middle level. This foreshadows the later discussion and further elaboration in Chapter 7.

In Chapter 3 we discussed and analysed the available document sources that represented the trajectory of previous planning for Jeddah. In this chapter, the question of governance has been explored. Its emergence as a key concept in the shift from the control and command economy to the global neo-liberal order has been outlined, as have the possibilities of different governance arrangements covered in the Western literature. While this literature is relevant to a certain degree, it should always be kept in mind that Jeddah is a city in Saudi Arabia, a crossroads for an international community of the

faithful, and subordinate to the highly centralised system within Saudi Arabia. In this political landscape there are certain unique set roles and regulations, and few decision-makers. The scope for improved governance, including greater participation, flexibility and continuity in the planning system must be conceptualised realistically against these constraints.

This chapter discusses the definition of urban governance and shows its link and importance for urban planning. The literature shows that good urban governance arrangements play a significant part in the success of the process of making urban plans and their implementation. The literature of urban governance also shows that there are no standard arrangements that can be adapted universally and shows the importance of adapting urban governance arrangements that reflect local differences and characteristics. The next chapter deals with recent changes in local level governance arrangements in Saudi Arabian cities and the introduction of municipal councils is discussed.

Chapter 5: Community-oriented agencies in Saudi Arabia, with specific reference to the Jeddah Municipal Council

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents recent changes in urban governance arrangements in Saudi Arabia, with reference to the establishment of the municipal council in Jeddah in 2005. The aim here is to present the reader with the bigger picture of the different public agencies which provide a chance for the public to participate in the decision-making process at national, regional and local levels. All agencies at each level are described in a separate section.

The chapter focuses only on public agencies/institutes that have some form of public involvement in the decision-making process. Other agencies and institutes, such as MOMRA, which works as a centralised national-level authority that the public doesn't involve in its work, are considered not relevant to the aim of the chapter and therefore it is not discussed. The focus is on agencies and instances relevant to the topic and to Jeddah. More details about MOMRA's role were presented in previous sections in this thesis; see, for example, sections 2.5.1.3, 2.6 and 2.6.2.

5.2 National level

At the national level the public can participate in the decision-making process through an important single agency, the Consultative Council or ‘Majlis Al-Shura’. This section aims to provide a brief overview of the history and function of this council.

5.2.1 The Consultative Council: ‘Majlis Al-Shura’

For social, business and government decision-making in Arab and Islamic societies, consensus (ijma) is paramount (Kéchichian 2008). To arrive at consensus requires consultation (shura); thus there is no clear-cut division as would emerge from a vote. In theory, traditional consultation incorporates threads (elements) from all views which the particular designated ruler of the group – be it family, tribe, organisation or country – must take into account; thus the selection of those whose views are to be considered is a crucial political issue. Traditionally, the advisers were senior representatives of the sub-groups, family or friends, tribal leaders or government appointees (Al-Rasheed 2007). For the ultimate ruler, however, the complexity of the country’s administration in the 21st century requires representation from a greater range of stakeholders; thus there is a consultative assembly, that is, the ‘Majlis al-Shura’ or the Consultative Council (Kéchichian 2008), which was established in 1991 by a royal decree from King Fahad. This Council also includes the following subcommittees: the Committee of Social, Family, and Youth Affairs, which is responsible for issues such as public housing and poverty alleviation; the Committee of Economic Affairs and Energy, which is responsible for issues including the National Development Plans’ general goals, strategies, drafts, and follow-up reports of implementation; the Committee of Health and

Environmental Affairs, which is responsible for areas in public health and environment matters; the Committee of Transportation, Communications and Information Technology, which is responsible for transportation issues; and the Committee of Water and Public Facilities and Services, which is responsible for most of the municipal and public services.

However, this Consultative Council is not the first such in Jeddah and the western region; other consultative and public councils existed before the kingdom was established. Prior to the Saudi regime, the Ottoman administration of the western Arabic Peninsula included an elected National Council, the 'Majlis Al-Ahli', to advise the ruler. In 1924, the National Council (Majlis Al-Ahli) was granted domestic adjudication under the emerging influence of Abdulaziz bin Saud (Baxter & Akbarzadeh 2008). King Abdulaziz permitted this council to continue when he took control of the region. All members were elected in this council. Bannan (2006) argues that King Abdulaziz allowed this form of limited public participation only in the western region, 'Hijaz', because it was part of the region's culture and therefore provided political stability. It comprised sixteen members and included in its responsibilities that of providing organisational structure to municipalities, and directing their operations. Also, a town committee of fourteen members was established for Jeddah and some other towns in the western region, and a constitutional group was formed, partly elected and partly appointed. In 1925, the Makkah Consultative Council, with greater powers, took control of establishing communications, trade, education, the court system, internal security, and municipal affairs in the nascent kingdom. The administrative councils were initially responsible for

all project planning and operations in the municipality; however, as the central government became established in the 1950s, their influence waned (Al-Awaji 1989; Ansary 2008; Kéchichian 2008; Teitelbaum 2001).

In 1992, as a result of the first Gulf War, King Fahd introduced the Basic Law reaffirming the principles of government as justice, consultation and the equality of citizens under Islamic Shari'a (Ansary 2008). Before this, the concept of the Majlis Al-Shura was reinstated, and as well, a regional law was proclaimed. Established in 1991, the 'Majlis Al-Shura' was an advisory council whose 60 members were appointed for four years (Dekmejian 1998). In the main, the council does research and reports to the King. This is clear in Article 1 of the Law of the Consultative Council, which defines the purpose of the council as: 'to exercise the tasks entrusted to it in accordance with its statutes and the Basic System of Rules, with a commitment to the Book of God and the tradition of His Prophet, and maintaining the ties of brotherhood and cooperation in kindness and piety'. Also, Article 15 of the Consultative Council Law states that the main purpose of the Consultative Council is to provide advice (Nasihah) on general government policies sent to it by the Head of the Council of Ministers, the King, in three general areas:

- 1- advice on economic and social plans
- 2- advice on proposals concerning regulations, treaties, international conventions, and privileges
- 3- advice on proposed annual reports by the ministries and other government agencies.

In 1991, when King Fahad announced the establishment of the Consultative Council in its current form as part of a wider reform process, he also appointed all the

council members based on Article 4 of the Consultative Council law that states that all appointed members of the council should meet three conditions:

- 1- They must be Saudi nationals and resident in Saudi Arabia.
- 2- They must be known as good and competent people.
- 3- They must be not less than 30 years of age.

Members are appointed for four-year periods (Bin-Baz 2000). Appointed members included academics, engineers, businessmen, doctors, and religious scholars who came from different parts and regions of the kingdom. Since the establishment of the council, a number of changes have been made to increase the council members' numbers. When first established it had only 60 members; in 1997 this was increased to 90 members, then 120 in 2001, and 150 in 2005. Currently within the council there are twelve committees with different tasks and responsibilities. All these committees undertake studies and make suggestions about the development process at both national and local levels.

The council, as described above, is a consultative body and does not have any legislative power. As explained in Chapter 2, the Council of Ministers, headed by the King, was first established formally in 1953 and is the body that runs the country. The relationship between the Ministers Council and the Consultative Council is clarified in Articles 15, 17, 22, 23, and 24 of the Consultative Council Law (Bin-Baz 2000). For example, Article 15 discussed the limited power of the Consultative Council to provide suggestions about public policies if requested by the King in the areas presented above.

For a clearer picture of the relationship between the Consultative Council and the Council of Ministers, please see Figure 5.1.

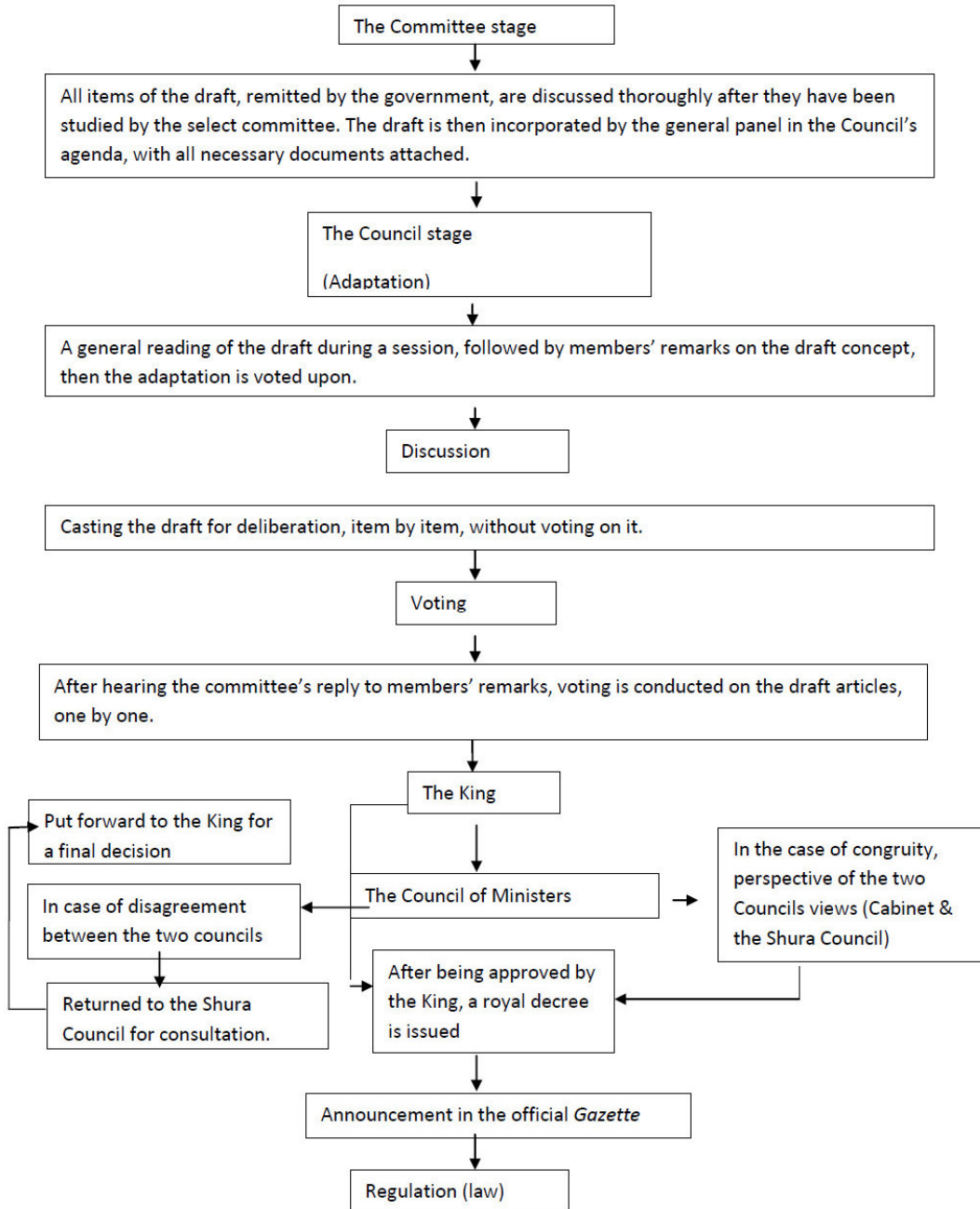


Figure 5.1: The Consultative Council of the KSA, Parliamentary Practice, translated (Source: adapted from Al-Assaf (2004, p. 55))

Of note, there is increasing participation of women in the decision-making process in the public and private sectors. Recent developments show a trend towards allowing a role for women in public life and in leadership positions in the public sector despite their legal, social and economic impediments. Al-Ahmadi (2011) found that women's challenges were structural, due to a lack of resources and lack of empowerment. However, in 2011 King Abdullah announced that women would in future be included in the 150-member Consultative Council, promoted from their consultant role to council members. In 2006 the Al-Shura Council appointed six women as advisors, and that has now risen to twelve (Whitson 2011).

In conclusion, the Consultative Council is a national council of appointed members to advise on issues referred to it by the King. This council could be considered as the Saudi parliament, where the public participates in the decision-making process (Al-Ahmadi 2011; Ansary 2008; Dekmejian 1998; Kapiszewski 2006; Kéchichian 2008; Linjawi 2006).

From the above description, the reader can appreciate the centralised body in urban governance at the national level.

5.3 The regional level

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is divided into 13 administrative regions called ‘Amarah’ or provinces. At the administrative regional level, the Provincial Council or ‘Majlis Al-Mantiqah’ is considered to be the only formal agency where the public participates in the decision-making process. The council, by its involvement in coordinating urban and civil governmental agencies, plays an important role at the regional level in managing development and regional services. This section aims to provide a brief overview of the Provincial Council to the reader.

5.3.1 The Provincial Council or ‘Majlis Al-Mantiqah’

In 1992, King Fahad proclaimed the Provinces Law creating a Provincial Council, ‘Majlis Al-Mantiqah’, in each of the kingdom’s 13 administrative provinces or ‘Amarah’ (Ansary 2008). At this level, the Provincial Council provides for public input. Article 16 of the law states that the council was created to include the following members:

- 1- the province’s governor as the council chairman
- 2- the province’s vice-governor as the council vice-chairman
- 3- the province’s secretary
- 4- the heads of government agencies in the province
- 5- no less than ten noblemen from the province’s residents (Later in 1993 this was increased to twenty.).

This council has limited authority to research and advise the government on all issues relating to the province's services. The law specifies the council's responsibilities to be:

- 1- the study of the province's needs and to make suggestions regarding the National Development Plan
- 2- to research and suggest projects to be approved by the national government
- 3- to research and advise on regulation plans for all the province's cities and villages
- 4- to follow up on all provincial-related matters in the National Development Plan.

Each Provincial Council has a different number of public-appointed members and special committees that serve the province. Members meet in the council on a regular basis.

In conclusion, the Provincial Council is the only agency at the regional level through which the public can participate in the development process. Appointed members work with officials to study and make suggested improvements to the province's services through the council's limited authority.

5.4 The local level

At the local level there are three agencies where the public can participate in the development process: the 'Mohafazah' Council, the district centres, and the Municipal Council. These will be discussed in turn.

5.4.1 The 'Mohafazah' Council

The 'Mohafazah' Council is a smaller version of the Provincial Council. It manages a smaller geographical area, often with an urban centre. The council plays a role in coordinating local level government agencies and manages the development projects of the city. It has limited authority, an advisory authority, and is linked to the Provincial Council through the 1992 Basic Law. It suggests development projects and urban services for the urban centre. The 'Mohafazah' Council members include:

- 1- the governor 'Mohafize' as the council chairman
- 2- the governor secretary as the council vice-chairman
- 3- heads of local government agencies that have representatives in the Provincial Council
- 4- a number of residents (noblemen).

5.4.2 District centres

District centres are agencies that allow members of the public to voluntarily participate in community services and development. While these centres were formally established in most Saudi cities in 2007, district centres were available in Jeddah from the 1990s with support from the province governor, Prince Abdulmajeed. The initial role the centres play is mainly in organising voluntary work at the district level with an interest in social and community services.

These district centres provide a channel for people who want to volunteer in local community services and development at the district level. Each city or urban centre is divided into districts, each with its own centre. All the district centres in the city are supervised by a city supervision centre that approves the centre's program projects and budget. By law the aim is to:

- 1- identify the local community's social needs and to participate in developing them
- 2- suggest and propose local community development projects and programs; and to participate in their implementation
- 3- participate in local community human resource development.

These district centres are limited to volunteer work and services and have no authority to make decisions. The scope of work for these centres includes working on site

beautification and community services. Volunteers must have centre approval. The centres are supported by the government based on the following conditions:

- 1- The district population must not be less than 3000.
- 2- The centre area should have some government agencies; and boys' and girls' schools.
- 3- A bank branch should be available in the area.
- 4- The local volunteer members requesting support from the centre should not be less than twenty, and each of them should fulfil the following conditions:
 - be of Saudi nationality
 - be not less than 25 years of age
 - be a reputed resident of the area.

5.4.3 The municipal council

In 2003 the government announced the establishment of municipal councils around the kingdom across 178 cities, to include appointed and elected members to participate in the municipality's affairs. 2005 saw the first public elections in the modern history of Saudi Arabia (Ammoun 2006). The aim was to have a level of public participation at the local administrative level (Cordesman & Obaid 2005). This was part of the political reform movement of King Abdullah (Cordesman & Obaid 2005). The councils were established based on the 1975 Law of Villages and Municipalities, but no further action was taken to establish the municipal council until 2003 (Ammoun 2006; Cordesman & Obaid 2005).

Traditionally, municipal councils and public agencies were part of the local administrative level in the Jeddah and 'Hijaz' region (Al-Awaji 1989). After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Al-Awaji (1989) explains, in 1925 and before unification, Abdulaziz began establishing directorates for health, post and telegraph, and public education, and also municipalities, thus indicating that existing local services were restricted and organisational structures incompatible with the basic structure of the emerging nation. Further, the local organisations that were functioning at that time were in the 'Hijaz', and over the next decades the administration that formed horizontally and vertically across the Arabian Peninsula was 'characterised by decentralisation and participation in local affairs' (Al-Awaji 1989, p. 52). Although elected councils existed in the 'Hijaz' into the 1960s, municipal councillors generally remained as appointees, despite a 1963 intent to elect municipal councils, which was never put into effect (Al-Fahad 2005; Al-Okaili 2004a, 2004b).

In 1975 the Law of Villages and Municipalities described municipal councils as monitoring and reporting agencies with four to fourteen appointed and elected members based on the size of the town, and this was again codified by the Basic Law (Tarazi 1993). Articles 6 to 27 of the Law of Villages and Municipalities set out the regulations governing municipal councils. Half of the public members are to be elected through direct public election.

Article 5 of municipal council laws and regulations states and limits a municipal council's responsibilities to (Jeddah Municipal Council (JMC) website, accessed 8/11/2011):

- 1- suggesting and giving opinion on the proposed municipal budget
- 2- reviewing and approving the municipality's accounts
- 3- suggesting and giving opinions on the half-yearly municipality financial reports about expenditure and revenues
- 4- studying and providing suggestions on the municipality's administrative structure
- 5- studying and suggesting changes to municipal laws and regulations (when asked by the municipality to do so); and suggesting urban projects within the municipality to the Mayor, and in turn discussing these suggestions with the central administration
- 6- prioritising municipal projects for the annual municipality budget
- 7- suggesting changes to municipal fees and fines to the central government, those that do not contradict central regulations
- 8- studying municipal investment project reports and providing suggestions to be considered in proposed municipality investment plans
- 9- studying proposed government acquisition of private property for public use; evaluating the compensation to owners; and reporting and providing suggestions to be considered in the budget
- 10- reading and providing opinions on municipality progress reports every four months

- 11- requesting and supplying information required for cases before the municipality at least a week before the council meeting
- 12- (with consideration to its authority), considering public complaints and suggestions and conducting public meetings and workshops every four months
- 13- working on improving the municipality's performance through reports to the municipality.

Jeddah Municipal Council has fourteen members. Seven members are appointed and seven elected. Both elected and appointed members are selected based on the following conditions:

- 1- They must be Saudi nationals.
- 2- They must be male.
- 3- They must be not less than 25 years of age.
- 4- They must be local residents.
- 5- They must have no convictions for criminal offences.

Through its members, the council is allowed to set up committees to discuss and focus on special issues. Jeddah Municipal Council currently has the following committees:

- 1- Health and environment
- 2- Roads and traffic studies
- 3- The parks, open spaces, beautification and recreation areas
- 4- Urban planning and building codes

- 5- Public communication
- 6- Investments
- 7- Monitoring, follow-up and transparency
- 8- Land and grants
- 9- Budget committee.

After the 2005 municipal elections, where councillors were appointed for four years by male suffrage, the experience of the first election was expected to reduce electorate apathy as it was the first national election in the country's modern history (Kapiszewski 2006). The experience of the first election was studied with the expectation that changes would be made (Al-Faisal 2009; Talaat 2008). However, apart from a ban on multiple voting in each electorate, and granting the councils more power in approving mayoral and public officials' decisions, the second election took place in September 2011, more than two years later than expected (BBC 2011 (28 September)).

Statistics published in local newspapers show a decrease in public interest in the municipal council elections even though the number of cities with municipal councils increased from 178 to 285. Only 1.083 million voted to elect 816 council members from 5323 candidates (Al-Hakim 2011).

Al Jazeera News (Vall 2011) claimed there was decreased public interest in the second round of municipal council elections. Only about half who registered in 2005 had actually voted. This lack of interest, and lack of a rigorous awareness campaign, was

confirmed by an Arab News report quoting Majid Qaroub, chairman of the Lawyers' Committee in Jeddah: 'We noticed a general disinterest in participating in the elections' (Al-Jassem 2011). This could be due to public disappointment from the previous progress of the municipal councils and their lack of power to meet the expectations of people who participated in the 2005 election (Al-Hakim 2011).

However, in 2011, King Abdullah approved the participation of females in the next election and the Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs promised changes and improvements to the municipal councils' laws and regulations (Whitson 2011). This may make the next election, expected in 2015, very different.

In conclusion, the municipal council is the only public agency with a significant number of its members elected by the public. With its limited authority and power, especially outside of municipal services, it still provides a degree of public participation in the development process that is not available through other agencies at any level in the hierarchy of the Saudi Arabian system.

5.5 Conclusion

Certain agencies have been described in this chapter and they are all agencies that connect government to the public. As noted, the Council of Ministers sets the agenda for development. The agencies described above comply with its wishes, making suggestions back to the central government for its consideration. Municipal council reforms change

this balance slightly and through its elected representatives give the general public some voice to local, regional and national government.

From this, the research considers the municipal council an interesting change in urban governance and a new element worth studying when considering the future of urban planning in Jeddah. The municipal council introduces a different concept, with public participation and a monitoring role that was not available in the previous urban governance setting.

Chapter 6: Research method and data analysis

6.1 Introduction

The material presented in Chapter 3 highlighted the lack of flexibility, continuity, coordination, participation and comprehensiveness in the old planning system in Jeddah. Chapter 4 linked these aspects of the planning system to urban governance and showed in the literature review the link with and importance of urban governance to effective urban planning. The interest here in this chapter is first to confirm the findings of this previous investigation carried out in the earlier chapters. Secondly, to carry out a further investigation to see if the new governance arrangements have addressed the issues of the old system and, if not, what would help urban planning in Jeddah to be more effective. The interview method used in the research presented in this chapter is designed with regard with the interests explained above. Please see Appendix A for a list of the main questions asked of all the participants in this part of the research.

The research presented in this chapter is concerned with a turning point in the history of urban planning in Jeddah, which occurred when the new municipal council was established in that city allowing an unprecedented degree of direct public participation in urban governance in the city. Indeed, this event marks the first elections in the country's modern history. As we have shown in earlier chapters, past failures of urban planning in Jeddah derive partly from the political context in which plans were created. Plans were imposed on the city by decree of the state and were designed and implemented without

popular feedback. The failure of urban planning was an element of a larger failure on the part of the governing elite to create a suitable living environment for Jeddah's population in the modern sense: one in which the population can rely on urban services to maintain a level of wellbeing in terms of moderate housing density, effective environmental protection, the preservation of culturally important sites, the provision of education, public health infrastructure and public transport, and the guarantee of personal security. Given the fact that Jeddah experienced unparalleled growth in the context of Saudi Arabia's entry into the world economy as a petroleum supplier, the need for a working urban infrastructure has been apparent since the sixties. Yet as we have shown, the urban planning projects that have proceeded since that time have failed to improve the human environment of the city. The question we confront in this chapter is whether adding the municipal council to the existing urban framework of governance will help resolve longstanding planning problems and contribute to creating a more efficient and sustainable urban environment in Jeddah. Holding that the municipal councils are in general a positive step forward for Saudi Arabia, this study proposes that the requirements of governance, inseparable from effective modern urban planning, can be met by seriously considering the role of the municipal council in the design and implementation of a sustainable planning process for Jeddah, assuming some reasonable timetable for the delivery of a more efficient and sustainable urban environment across the city.

Guided by this, a semi-structured interview schedule was designed to elicit open-ended responses to a series of questions that would bring into focus three separate but interrelated dimensions of the planning history of Jeddah:

- 1- the pre-municipal council phase
- 2- the municipal council phase
- 3- future development.

Interview questions were designed to explore the views of the policy makers and scholars with regard to the past, present and future of urban planning and development in Jeddah. These temporal categories were used to analyse the responses diachronically (themes having to do with the temporal sequence of Jeddah's development), and synchronically (evaluations of the present situation in Jeddah and expectations built on that evaluation).

The material and discussion in this chapter represent the participants' opinions and voice. The researcher's opinion will be presented in Chapter 7, building on the findings of the research conducted in this chapter and the previous chapters.

6.2 Research method

To investigate the potential impact of the new governance structure on planning outcomes in Jeddah and to answer the question raised in the previous chapter (Chapter 5) it was felt necessary to first establish a sense of the problems associated with earlier

traditional 'blueprint' approaches to urban planning. Synopses and analyses of four plans developed for the city were presented in Chapter 3.

Historical analysis and a review of the literature are suggestive of why Jeddah's past planning system has failed to respond to the challenges posed by Jeddah's rapid development. The literature review and the historical analysis highlight the fact that urban planning was, essentially, a casualty of a flawed governance system. But texts and plans are insufficient to capture recent changes in Jeddah's planning system that have come about as a result of the new council's governance structure. There is nothing written on its impact on urban planning to date.

The nature of recent governance changes has affected the way organisations involved in planning Jeddah operate. There is now a recognition of stakeholders in the planning process and the assignment of responsibilities; a sense of work flow in the planning process and dynamism in assessment. To better appreciate these shifts, the researcher designed and conducted a series of interviews with 17 key stakeholders associated with the new council, including three elected and four appointed representatives. The researcher also interviewed five key academics, and five senior figures involved with urban planning in Jeddah. The material in this chapter presents the participants' opinions only. The researcher did not take any points raised by the participants in further dictation to give room in this chapter to the participants' voices so as not to confuse the reader with his voice or opinion. Chapter 7 will present the researcher's opinions.

The seventeen participants were carefully selected to provide the study with a wide range of interviewee perspectives in relation to the research questions and interests. Jeddah municipality senior planners represent the ‘inside’ perspective, planners whose job it is to create and implement urban planning proposals. This group lives the ‘problem’ on a daily basis. Local academics were sampled because their scholarly knowledge of urban planning gives them a richer sense of the theory and history of urban planning, one they can relate to the particular case of Jeddah in terms of the historical trajectory of its urban geography, the practical reality of its local urban planning system, and their acquaintance with the local studies, as well as with other examples from the region. Such dual backgrounds enable them to link their practical experience to urban planning theories and literature and so enrich this research.

Public representatives were selected from appointed and elected members of Jeddah Municipal Council. The combination of appointed and elected members of Jeddah Municipal Council represents something very new in the history of Jeddah’s urban governance, and presents us with both a public input to Jeddah’s needs and a perspective on governance experience, allowing us to understand the way members of an institution, in effect, a new form of governance in Saudi Arabia, think about the city planning process. However, here a person should note that there might be differences between the way the elected and the appointed members in this category respond to our questions. We had assumed, before conducting the interviews, that the elected members would be more open and valuable to our research because they would be freer to offer criticisms without

reservation. Surprisingly, we found that the appointed members of the council actually criticised the more and were less conservative in their answers. Our assumption before conducting the interviews was based on the fact that appointed members were selected by the government to join the council, which seemed to offer prima facie evidence that they would be less critical. Their criticisms may be the effect of their higher level of education and wider experience, which made them eligible for appointment in the first place, while the elected members may feel more uncomfortable disagreeing with 'expert' opinion.

For example, appointed members discussed many problems that elected members did not note directly in their answers. Appointed members were apt to discuss a range of social, economic and environmental problems, while elected members stuck to very pragmatic problems, and talked mainly about the lack of urban services.

The decision was made to keep the research sample within these three categories of participants to focus the research on groups that are closely involved in the process and could enrich the research with their experience and knowledge. For this reason, and to take the discussion into greater detail, ordinary people were not selected to be part of this research. An accurate number of participants representing the public of Jeddah was an issue. A huge number of participants in the research would not allow the researcher to take the discussion to an in-depth level. Also, council members and academics were considered to be within the realm of public opinion. So the decision was made to limit the research to the three categories of participants.

It was difficult to gain access to most of the participants in this study due to the fact that most of them hold high positions in government and the private sector, which means that they are very busy managing more than one organisation. Six months was spent in contacting and arranging meetings with them. Here, it was helpful that the author has worked for both government and the private sector, and could leverage his contacts from his social network among the urban planning community in Saudi Arabia and in Jeddah to facilitate access to participants who might otherwise have been difficult for a less connected researcher to reach. Using key contacts and stakeholders in qualitative research is very beneficial to the study and this technique is supported by many (Agar, MG 1999; Agar, MH 1996; LeCompte et al. 1999). As a result of this effort, this study has greatly benefited from significant original firsthand data on the consequences of recent changes in the governance structure for urban planning in Jeddah, changes that have not previously been the subject of academic research.

The number of participants in each group was between five and seven. While the group size was not big, this number of participants is certainly sufficient considering the criteria for inclusion in the groups and the positive response to the invitation to participate in the research. For example, there are just over a dozen professors and teachers in the department of urban planning of King Abdulaziz University. When we apply the second criterion of selection to this number (which is academics with a practical experience of not less than five years in Jeddah) the selection number dwindles to only nine academics in the department, five of who respond positively to the invitation and were interviewed in this research.

To determine the sample group, the researcher firstly with help from key contacts in Jeddah municipality, King Abdulaziz University and Jeddah Municipal Council, created a list of possible participants in each group who meet the selection criteria. With further help from social contacts, a letter of invitation that explains the study, the participants' role and includes both the initial interview and the follow-up interview timeframe was sent to all the listed names at the same time. Appointments for interviews were arranged with those respondents who agreed to participate in the research and who were available in Jeddah for the two interview rounds.

The researcher allowed two months for the return of the participants' responses to the letter of invitation. Only thirteen did not respond, eleven of them did not respond at all and two responded after some time had elapsed (see Table 6.1 for more details). Using a time limit for responses is a common technique in order to identify the non-respondent category (Creswell 2003; Miller & Smith 1983).

The responses to the letter of invitation were either negative: the potential respondents would not be available in Jeddah for the interviews; or positive: the potential respondents agreed to participate and would be available in Jeddah for the interviews. All those who responded positively to the letter of invitation were interviewed for this research.

Category	Total number of responses after applying the selection criteria	Responses to the letter of invitation		Respond positively to the letter of invitation (will participate)	Respond negatively to the letter of invitation (cannot participate)
		Did not respond	Respond		
Municipal council members	14	1	13	7	6
Academics	9	0	9	5	4
Municipality senior officials	23	12	11	5	6

Table 6-1: Responses to the letter of invitation to participate in the research

Selection criteria were applied to select eligible participants from three categories.

The selection criteria for academics included:

- 1- working in the local university in the urban planning department for no less than five years
- 2- having work experience of practising the profession of urban planning locally in Jeddah for no less than five years.

There are just over a dozen professors and teachers in the department of urban planning of King Abdulaziz University. When we apply the second criterion, the selection number dwindles down to only nine academics. Five of them responded positively to the letter of invitation and were interviewed for this research. The four who responded negatively to the invitation were not available in Jeddah at the interview times.

The criteria applied to select senior municipality planners were as follows:

1. local experience in the field of urban planning and municipality work for no less than ten years
2. work in a decision-making position
3. participation in at least one of the master plans prepared for Jeddah.

Applying these criteria resulted in reducing the group number to 23. Only five of them responded positively to the invitation and were interviewed for this research.

Municipal council membership was the only municipal council members' selection criteria, which meant fourteen possible candidates were suitable for interview. Based on their availability for the two interview times and their response to the letter of invitation, seven of them responded positively and were interviewed for this research: three were elected members and four were appointed members.

The research overall shows members in each group presented substantially similar accounts of planning in Jeddah, suggesting that further interviews would not add additional information to the database.

The approach taken was to seek each interviewee's reflections on the past, current and future of Jeddah's urban planning. From this information, the researcher was able to create a discursive space within which participants could discuss and analyse the roots of urban planning problems and failures and suggest future solutions. Thus a semi-structured interview format was chosen for the interviews. Semi-structured interviews

allow an interviewer to pose a number of predetermined questions while engaging in issues raised by the interviewee (Bryman 2008; Creswell 2003; Liamputtong 2009). Because of the varied nature of the interviewees, the interviews were designed to suit the convenience of the interviewees – who were, as we have mentioned, busy professionals. For example, the Mayor of Jeddah, like a few other participants, set aside a very limited time to participate in the study, so a shorter interview format was used. Other interviews, especially with academic participants, went on for a longer time, which allowed the interviewees to cover various topics in more detail, enriching the study with more conceptual and contextual information.

The interviews were held in two stages. The first stage occurred between December 2008 and February 2009 and was based upon open question, semi-structured interviews to help the researcher discuss with participants the history, development and future of urban planning in Jeddah. In the second stage, carried out between December 2009 and February 2010, the researcher double checked the data from the first stage and asked follow-up questions to clarify issues raised in the first interviews.

The researcher tape recorded all interviews and transcribed the responses into Arabic. The end result was 43 hours of interview data yielding 387 pages of transcribed data. Responses were first organised along the lines of the three major thematic concerns: past, present and future. Analysis then adapted a grounded theory technique of reviewing the data and it was applied to see what themes emerged. Then each interview was rechecked to see how each participant spoke on these themes (Glaser 1992, 1998; Strauss

& Corbin 1990, pp. 78-9). The researcher used the second interview to follow up with participants any themes that they had not mentioned spontaneously in their first interview. In this way the researcher ensured that he obtained information on every theme and sub-theme from every participant.

In order to find out what participants think about Jeddah's past urban planning history, the researcher asked questions such as: What is your opinion of the old urban planning system/process in Jeddah? What were its negatives and positives? Also, follow-up question (probes) were used by the researcher to get the interviewee to say more about a particular topic, which is a very common and useful technique in semi-structured interviews (Leech 2002, p. 666; Rubin & Rubin 2005, p. 152). With some points the researcher used detail-oriented probes. For example, when did that happen? Who else was involved? And elaboration probes such as: Would you elaborate on that? Could you say some more about that? Also, clarification probes such as: You said the system is a 'success'. What do you mean by 'success'? were used by the researcher to clarify points and topics raised in the interviews. A neutral, non-leading manner was adopted in asking questions, which is an important technique to allow participants to express their opinion (Rubin & Rubin 2005, p. 12) And to find out what the interviewee may think about the current situation, the researcher asked questions such as: What is your opinion of the current system/process? What difference does the new municipal council make, if any? Also, in order to discover the interviewee's opinion concerning the future of urban planning in Jeddah, the researcher asked questions such as: How could the role of the

municipal council be improved, if at all? How might Jeddah's urban planning and governance be improved, if at all?

The researcher used an iterative coding process to review all the interviews and identify major themes that emerged in the participants' answers to and discussions of his questions. To generate a coding procedure the researcher used a grounded theory approach to group categories that arose from the interview data. This coding protocol was developed through multiple stages. On a first pass through the data the researcher noted every new topic raised by each interviewee. The list of these topics provided a preliminary coding protocol that the researcher then applied systematically to each interview, resulting in a set of coding transcripts in which each reference to each theme was recorded. This coding technique is very common in qualitative research (Saldana 2009). The difficulties in coding the interview data were minimised by using the probe and follow-up question technique explained above (Leech 2002; Rubin & Rubin 2005). During the interviews the researcher tried to ask and discuss areas that needed further clarification with the participants. However, the use of some vocabulary by participants that had meanings that were difficult to distinguish was one of the difficulties in the coding stage.

Next, the researcher applied a temporal analysis to the coded transcripts in order to correlate themes to the three macro categories of the past, present or future of planning in Jeddah. This analysis generated interview transcripts correlating to the stakeholder group, position on the timeline, and the theme.

The coding protocol was tested for reliability with all participants in a second interview stage. In this second stage the researcher re-interviewed each participant to double check his categorisation of their responses, and also to verify where the timeline of each major theme was raised.

The second interviews were firstly designed to check on the major themes that emerged in the coding of the first set of interviews and, secondly, to prioritise these themes according to their relevance and importance to the issues dealt with in this research, namely, the relationship of the success of urban planning to forms of governance. Through this means the researcher aimed to increase the reliability of his coding and check for gaps. The relatively low number of participants in the research helped him to manage and arrange the second set of interviews and to re-interview each participant again.

Operational definitions were developed by the researcher based on groupings of similar comments or thoughts. For any comment to be counted, it had to be articulated by one complete expression of a thought or an argument by the interviewee. In order for that comment to be counted again, the participant needed to raise it again in a different part of the interview. If during the interview two different comments were used in the same sequence of the conversation, they were counted twice, as one example in each different group of comments or themes (please see Table 6.2).

Each group of participants was interested in talking about certain themes. Table 6.2 shows how frequently each participant mentioned a theme in the interviews. These themes correspond to a significant extent to the themes distinguished in Chapter 3.

The reliability of this coding protocol was tested by inviting two colleagues to cross code a sample of the data, which is a good technique (Saldana 2009) and used in extensive research in different fields (Bourgeault, Parpia & Atanackovic 2010; Crichlow 2002; Goetz & LeCompte 1981). Both colleagues are post-graduate students with research experience and both are from Saudi Arabia, so they do not have an issue with the transcribed language. Each of them worked on the same sample, which included two interviews. Interviewees' names were replaced by a code in this sample to keep the interviewees' identities safe. Both came up with exactly the same themes. The only difference was that some of the theme titles were not the same; however, the meaning of the theme title was the same. The nomenclature for the themes was equivalent in Arabic and English. There are very few words in Arabic that do not have an English equivalent.

Because the research involves human participants, an application for ethics approval was necessary. The application was approved by RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee in 2008, before the interviews were conducted. Also, the committee approved the Plain Language Statement and the Letter of Invitation that was prepared in English and Arabic to clarify to the participants the nature of the research; that their identity and names would remain undisclosed in the research; and the procedure to secure and ensure the safety of the research data. Within the research itself, the researcher followed the

procedures approved by the committee to ensure the safety of the data and the participants in the research. One of the important procedures and general principles of ethical research was that the research data would be kept and stored in a locked filing cabinet at RMIT, accessible to the researcher and his senior supervisor only.

In the next sections, the views of the three interviewed categories (academicians, planners, and municipal council members) are described and analysed.

Participant		Themes																												
		Past										Current (Planning process)										Future								
		Coordination	Participation	Centralisation	Continuity and Flexibility	Funding and Budgeting	Resources	Information	Comprehensiveness	High Urbanisation Rate	other	Coordination	Participation	Centralisation	Continuity and Flexibility	Funding and Budgeting	Comprehensiveness	Information	Conflict of authority	other	Coordination	Participation	Centralisation	Continuity and Flexibility	Funding and Budgeting	Human resources	Information	Comprehensiveness	other	
Academics	ACD1	9	7	10	1	1		1	2	6	1	5	6(3)	10(2)	3(2)	3(1)	3(2)	1	2	2(1)	6	6	9	1	1				1	
	ACD2	10	8	5	4		2	2	3	4		5	5(3)	5(1)	3(2)		1(1)	1	3		2	2	1	1			1	1		
	ACD3	15	10	7	3	1		1	4	3	2	9	7(2)	9(1)	2(1)	1	2(1)	1	1	1	12	7	5	1	1		2	1		
	ACD4	9	6	4	2		1	2	4	2	1	8	4(1)	3	2(1)		1(1)	2	2		8	6	4	2			2	2		
	ACD5	14	11	8	3	1	2			2		8	9(2)	7(1)	1	2	2(1)		2		9	6	5	1				1		
Planners	SP1	15	5	9	1	2	3	1		2	3	6	3(3)	5		2	2(1)	2	3	2	9	4	4		3	3	1		2	
	SP2	13	4	10	4	3	4	3		5	1	5	4(2)	7(1)	3(2)	2(1)	4(2)	3	2		8	5	5		4	3	2	1		
	SP3	14	6	9	4	3	1	3	3	2		6	2(1)	4	2(1)	3(1)	2(1)	1	1		9	4	3	1	2	1	1	1		
	SP4	12	3	8	2	3	3			3	1	6	2(1)	5	2(1)	2(1)	2(1)			1	5	2	4	1	3	1				
	SP5	18	4	11	3	2	3	1	2	2		7	2(1)	8(1)	3(2)	2	2(1)		2		13	3	7		2					
MCM	Appointed	MCMA1	6	9	5	2	2	1	2	5	1	2	5(2)	4		1	3(2)	1	3		5	4	3	1	2		1			
		MCMA2	8	11	4	1	3		3	3	2	2	6	7(3)	6(1)	3(2)	3(1)	4(2)	2	4	1	12	11	7		3			1	1
		MCMA3	9	13	5		4	1	2	4	2	2	5	9(2)	6(2)		1	2(1)	2	3	2(1)	7	8	6				1	2	1
		MCMA4	7	10	8	2	1		2	6	3		4	8(4)	5	4(2)	2	4(3)	1	5		6	9	6	2	1		1	1	
	Elected	MCME1	4	5	3	1			1	3	2	1	2	5(3)	2(1)	2(1)	1(1)	2(1)	2	3	1	3	4	1						
		MCME2	3	4	2	1		1		4		2	2	4(3)	3(1)	1(1)		1(1)		3		2	3	1					1	1
		MCME3	5	6	3		1		1	3	1		4	4(2)	3		1	2(1)	1	4		3	4	2				1	1	

Note: Numbers between brackets (X) in the current situation section to represent positive points about improvements add to the process by the municipal council.

Table 6.2: Frequency analysis

6.3 Pre-municipal council phase (the past)

In this phase of the interviews, the researcher focused on questions concerning the planning process in Jeddah before the establishment of the municipal council. As explained in Chapters 1 and 3, Jeddah suffers from a lack of infrastructure, urban services, an inefficient or crowded transportation system, and uncontrolled urban growth due to illegal developments. All of these problems indicate that the planning process in Jeddah had failed, either in its vision of the urban space or in its implementation or in both, with the result that no urban plan has either helped control the growth and urban development or helped provide a pleasant living environment.

In Chapter 3 we reviewed the previous major studies and plans of Jeddah and pointed out how, for each one, obvious shortcomings in their preparation and assumptions, and a lack of any mechanism to implement their suggestions led to a history of unbroken failure in the delivery of the desired outputs and results. At the end of our survey we concluded that: (1) the level of participation in the planning process by public or urban agencies was either nil or very limited; (2) the coordination between urban actors in these plans was very poor; (3) the scope of these plans was very low, due to the fact that they relied on traditional physical land use planning and ignored important economic, social and environmental aspects; and (4) there was little flexibility built into the plans, which meant that they were unable to be adapted to vast changes occurring in a dynamic city like Jeddah.

However, reviewing the documents and plans of Jeddah alone is insufficient to fully understand the conceptual framework in which these earlier planning processes developed. The researcher designed the interviews to begin with a review of the earlier planning process by certain of the participants, those who knew certain of the participants, or the successors to their positions. In this way the researcher hoped to bring out the tacit dimension of motivations and assumptions that may lie latent or unexpressed in the documents he has reviewed, and thus build up a more in-depth picture of the perception of Jeddah's urban problems. The researcher returned with follow-up questions for the selected participants to gain more details.

The analysis that follows is designed to let the interviewees speak as freely as possible within the confines of the parameters of the research question. More critical discussion of what they say will follow in the next chapter.

In this first part there were two main questions for participants to answer.

1- What is your opinion of the existing urban situation of Jeddah?

The aim of this question was firstly, to direct the participant's attention to the research topic and, secondly, to get their opinion on the city's existing situation as a means of allowing the participants the scope to raise points that the researcher was not aware of.

2- What do you think are the causes of this situation?

The aims of this question were, firstly, to open a discussion about the causes of Jeddah's urban problems and, secondly, to allow us to compare the participants' views with the findings of the documentary analysis in Chapter 3. Their answers may approve, disapprove, or add to these findings.

6.3.1 Analysis (*the past*)

1- What is your opinion of the existing urban situation of Jeddah?

It was clear that all participants across the three groups were unhappy and dissatisfied about the existing situation of the city. There was unanimity in the participants' views that Jeddah suffers from clear shortfalls in infrastructure and urban services, such as water, sewage, and drainage networks. All group members, as well, pointed to a host of other problems – the transportation network, below average living conditions, the uncontrolled growth of the city, the prevalence of illegal development, the lack of open spaces, the shortage of hospitals and schools, and many other urban problems.

However, by analysing participants by their group affiliation we noticed a difference in the balance of their concerns about Jeddah's current situation. Participants from the academic group were focused on problems relating to: (1) the poorness of the living environment in the city, such as the shortage of basic urban services like water and sewage; and (2) urban growth and development control issues. For example, ACD1 said in his answer to this question:

‘The existing situation of Jeddah is very bad. The city has a clear shortage of services, especially the water network and the sewage network. Many dwellers live in houses that are not connected up to these services ... add to this the failure in controlling the city’s growth, which result in a very poor pattern of growth. Leapfrogging development is the result of this uncontrolled pattern of growth and development. Many huge sized parcels of vacant land are left between this spread out pattern of growth’.

Of equal concern to the academics were the illegal development and the spread of squatters. For example, ACD3 said:

‘Jeddah is suffering from the problem of illegal development. Squatters are in many different areas of the city and have caused many physical and social problems to the city’.

In contrast, the group of senior municipality planners also focused their concerns on the problem of Jeddah’s illegal development, but they also raised the problems associated with the transportation network. For example, SMP2 said:

‘One of the big problems of New Jeddah is the inefficiency of the transportation and roads network. Travelling in New Jeddah has become a serious problem. Trip time has increased because of the traffic jams and congestion in the city’.

SP5 remarked:

‘The road network in Jeddah is very poor and suffers from poor maintenance. Roads are overcrowded and the city is still totally dependent on cars as the sole mode of transport’.

The third group, the municipal council members, was mostly concerned about problems relating to urban services and living standards. However, here we noted that there were differences in the content of the answers given by the elected and the appointed members in this category. Before conducting the interviews, our assumption had been that the participation of the elected members would be more open and valuable

to the research because they are the elected members, and would feel free to criticise with no reservations. But it turned out that the appointed members of the municipal council criticised the most and were less conservative in their answers than the elected members. Though we had assumed that the very fact that appointed members were selected by the government to join the council would make them less critical, it turned out just the contrary, perhaps because of the higher level of education and wider experience of the appointed members over the elected ones.

For example, appointed members discussed many problems that elected members did not note directly in their answers. Appointed members discussed social, economic and environmental problems while elected members talked mainly about the lack of urban services. Here is how MCMA2, an appointed member, sees the problems in urban planning:

‘The city has many social and economic problems, like the high unemployment rate ... also there are environmental problems of underground water, soil, and coast pollution from sewage water’.

2- What do you think are the causes of this situation?

This question was designed to be open to both the positive and negative responses, so that if the participant expressed a positive opinion about the existing situation, the follow-up question would allow him to explain his reasoning. However, all participants responded negatively, which means that, in consequence, all of the responses to the follow-up question were explanations of the causes of Jeddah’s poor situation.

The themes found going over these responses fell into an expected pattern (please see Table 6.2), picking up the failures in participation, flexibility, continuity, and comprehensiveness that were also the major findings of our Chapter 3. The data from the responses are organised around these themes and different ideas about the determinant of urban planning's failure in Jeddah emerge. There were three themes from the interview data that all participants agreed on: the lack of coordination, the lack of participation, and the lack of decentralisation.

Other themes from the interview data include: failures of continuity and flexibility, shortages in funding and budgeting, lack of human resources, diffuse or unavailable information, the lack of comprehensiveness in planning, and the uncontrolled high urbanisation rate. Below is the analysis of the participants' responses to this question by themes:

6.3.1.1 Coordination

All participants believe that the failure to supply needed coordination between stakeholders at the local level before, during, and after the planning process, and was one of the key weak links that has consistently doomed the process. In fact, this theme was mentioned more than any other in the interview data (see Table 6.2). Eight participants raised it ten or more times in their answers, and no one mentioned it less than three times. Senior planners and academics raised it more than municipal council members, perhaps because they have more experience and practice than the municipal members.

The theme was referred to in different ways in the interview data, but mostly by the term 'coordination'. However, each group of participants also referred to it differently. For example, senior municipality planners referred to it by using terms that reflect their practice, fieldwork and experience, such as: 'arrangement', 'management', and 'communication'. On the other hand, local academics referred to it using terms that reflect their philosophical background, such as: 'governance arrangement', 'urban management', and 'project management'. Municipal council members mainly referred to it using the term 'coordination'.

However it was expressed, it was agreed that one of the main causes for the failure of urban planning in Jeddah was lack of coordination, as explained in the points summarised below.

A. Preplan coordination

Participants believe that coordination in the planning process became a problem in Jeddah because most of the stakeholders were not involved from the beginning. Stakeholders were expected to coordinate their activities in the implementation stage but had not been privy to the planning process from the beginning, lacked a clear vision of the full scope of the project, and were less loyal to the plan and its success. Participants believe that involvement in all the stages (preplan, plan and post-plan) of the planning process is essential to create understanding and loyalty. This point was raised mostly by senior municipality planners and local academics who had the most experience with the various Jeddah plans. For example, SP2 said:

‘The preplan arrangement and coordination was not enough. Many agencies were not involved from the beginning and did not understand the full picture of the plan, which made the coordination in the implementation stage difficult’.

Also, SP3 said:

‘There was no agreement between the local agencies about the plan, which made coordination and arrangements in the implementation stage very weak. Most of the coordination on projects was done by enforcement from the region’s prince’.

The academics believe that the limited pre-plan involvement and the insulation of the process from the municipality made many local agencies less loyal to the plan and therefore failed to create a spirit of coordination in later stages. For example, ACD 2 said:

‘Limiting the role of many local agencies in the early stages of the process made them less loyal to the final stages and this resulted in making the coordination between them in the final stage of implementation really difficult’.

So participants believe that the ignorance of stakeholders in the earlier stages of the process made coordination defaults in the later stages.

B. Conflict of roles

Participants believed that the failure of coordination between local agencies could be attributed to problems with the local level governance structure, for the latter lacked an organisational structure with clear roles and responsibilities. Participants from all three groups expressed the belief that the way Jeddah’s local governance structure is set up obstructs successful coordination between local level agencies. For example, SP4 said:

‘The local level governance structure does not clarify roles and responsibilities enough between local agencies. There are overlaps between them and this makes arrangements and coordination very difficult in the field’.

Also, MCME 2 said:

‘The conflict of roles between local agencies makes any coordination difficult’.

Also, academics and senior planners believe that this conflict of roles came from the conflict of authority. In their opinion, local agencies’ structures do not rank agencies according to a clear line of authority that would allow for a chain of command to lead and coordinate the implementation of development planning in the city. For example, ACD1 said:

‘A committee has been established to coordinate development in the city. At some stages the weekly meetings of the committee attendance was between 80 and 100 members and microphones were used in these meetings. In fact, the coordination of the committee meetings was difficult ... The work of the coordination committee was not as effective as it should be due to the lack of authority for the committee, while the governance arrangement at the local level put many local authorities on the same level of power, with no one having more authority than the other’.

ACD1 also adds:

‘To solve the problem of authority the committee named a supreme coordination committee, and Jeddah was the first to establish a coordinating committee; however, naming the committee did not solve the conflicts of authority needed to coordinate’.

Also, SP1 said:

‘The conflict of roles between local authorities made coordination a very difficult task. Plans and regulations were proposed mostly without implementation codes to clarify responsibilities and establish a platform for coordination. There is a need to increase some agencies’ authority to be able to coordinate urban development’.

So participants think that the conflict of roles between different stockholders made coordination difficult.

C. Implementation mechanisms

Participants in the research consistently found that the failure of the coordination in Jeddah was due to the way the plans did not provide good enough implementation mechanisms to allow for successful coordination. They argue that the implementation mechanism did not provide enough clear details about roles and responsibilities of local agencies. This makes coordination between them very difficult. Both senior planners and academics have highlighted this point. For example, ACD 4 said:

‘The plans did not provide a clear implementation mechanism to clarify the role of local agencies in development. The lack of implementation details in the plans made this stage a miss, and coordination in the field very unsuccessful’.

SP5 also said:

‘The implementation mechanisms provided with the plans were not enough. They did not provide enough clarification for local agencies to understand their roles in the development, which made coordination between them in this stage sub-optimal’.

So the reader could sum up that the absence of a detailed implementation mechanism made coordination difficult.

D. Implementation phases

Participants from the categories of senior planners and academics believe that the implementation phases provided by the plans lacked key details about the implementation phase in regard to the development schedule, budgets, and roles. Furthermore, linking these various aspects together across different projects dispersed over the city presented

another insurmountable obstacle to an already unclear and lax coordination structure. Interviewees argued that the technical implementation plans were not detailed enough to coordinate the work. For example, ACD 5 said:

‘The plans did not give enough attention to the details of implementation. Technical and action plans were not detailed enough to provide a clear understanding of times, budgets, and roles to better coordinate the work’.

Also, SP3 said:

‘The implementation phases provided by the plans did schedule projects and link them geographically. This spread the projects all over the city and made it like an open workshop ... the number of projects spread everywhere in the city also stretched local agencies’ efforts and made coordination in the field very difficult’.

So participants believe that the implementation phases were not clear about time, budget and responsibility and that made the coordination difficult.

6.3.1.2 Participation

In the view of the interviewees from all three groups, there were serious problems with the participation of the public and stakeholders in the stages of the planning process, in that they were limited and closed off. As a result, attempts to improve the poor living environment in Jeddah using the knowledge and capacities of local agencies were doomed to failure. In fact, this was the second most frequently mentioned theme in the corpus of interviews (see Table 6.2). Five interviewees raised this issue ten times or more in their answers, and no one mentioned it less than four times. The interviewees that mentioned the theme least belonged to the sub-group of elected municipal council members. However, even here this theme garnered the most mentions by this group in comparison with other themes, none of which were mentioned more than twice in their

answers. On the other hand, appointed members of the municipal council were also very interested in this theme. This is a good example of the observation made above, that the input of the elected members of the municipal council turned out to be different than expected.

The theme was mentioned in different ways in the interview data. Mostly, it was mentioned directly by the term ‘participation’ or by the term ‘involvement’. However, two thematically distinct kinds of participation were discussed in these responses: public participation and stakeholder participation. The term ‘participation’ was mostly coupled with the term ‘public’, while ‘involvement’ was coupled with stakeholder participation. All interviewee groups except the elected municipal council members showed interest in both kinds of participation – while the latter confined their interest to public participation only. We can attribute this to the limited experience of this group in the planning process.

All interviewees believed that the nonexistence of ‘public participation’ in any stage of urban planning was one of the major reasons that urban planning has failed in Jeddah. On the other hand, ‘the stakeholders’ participation’ was given a more nuanced consideration. It was defined in terms of governmental agencies alone – local non-governmental agencies and organisations were not considered – and it was also considered that this kind of participation could very well be limited in the pre-planning and planning stages, and is not as required in the post-planning stage. The following points summarise the interviewees’ beliefs about why participation in the planning process in Jeddah has been spotty or non-existent.

A. The system

The system of rules governing the Jeddah municipality, which was the agency responsible for implementing the planning process, did not require it to use a participatory approach. For this reason, the municipality has not consulted or involved other local agencies, and completely ignored non-governmental agencies, nor made any effort to involve the public with hearings. This point was mainly highlighted by the academics and the municipal council members. For example, ACD3 said:

‘Plans did not come from all the urban agencies responsible for the city development. Plans were a product of the municipality orientation for other agencies that did not adapt. The system did not require the municipality to involve them and the municipality chose not to involve them directly in the process in order to be able to work freely and fast’.

So the interviewees believe that the system did not require the municipality to consult and involve public and urban actors in the process.

B. The budgeting mechanism

The budgeting mechanism has always been such that pressing time limits force the municipality to act quickly, without allowing any period for study, negotiation and consultation with other local agencies and the public in development. The budgeting mechanism is set up so that if allocated funds are not spent by a certain date, the funds revert to the state. In addition, when money is not spent, it increases the chance that allocated funds in the next financial period will be smaller. Not spending funds is taken as a signal that less funds are needed. This budgeting mechanism has the perverse effect of creating an incentive for the municipality to spend the money as quickly as possible,

even when the structures are not in place for using it efficiently. This point was highlighted mostly by senior planners. For example, SP2 said:

‘Budgets were huge; the mechanism by which these budgets were allocated forced municipalities to use these funds fast. The mechanisms were such that if you did not use all the money allocated to you, then your budget next year would be lower. For that reason, the municipalities around the kingdom were using their funds in any project ... this made time to study the visibility of projects very limited as many projects exist only to use up the budget allocated to the municipality ... the thought was that it is better to spend these funds on any project rather than lose them. At the time, the municipalities believed that any development project would add some value to the city. For that reason, there was no room for participation in the process; participation was seen as an unnecessary and time-consuming process that would delay projects’.

The interviewees shared the view that the lack of participation was one of the main causes of the failure of urban planning in Jeddah and the budgeting mechanism that was rushing everything did not allow for time to consult.

C. Excess authority vested in individuals

Interviewees from all three groups believed that, given the lack of participation by the public and the non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders, including developers and investors, the decision-making on the plans fell completely under the control of individuals who were working on them, the municipality planners. Insulated from NGO and public feedback, the plans consistently failed to reflect the public’s needs and wishes. Academics, senior planners and municipal council members believed that it was a major mistake for the municipality to monopolise the consideration and implementation of the plans, actively limiting the involvement and participation of the public and other relevant urban stakeholders. This was the argument of interviewees from all the three groups. For example, MCMA 2 said:

‘Jeddah’s municipality did not succeed in planning for the city development because it was working alone; the planning process did not emanate from the people’s needs’.

ACD1 said:

‘The work [on the plans] was based on individuals and did not include many important civil organisations. For that reason, it was work built on individual interpretations and not on a unified vision’.

The interviewees also argued that a result of the lack of feedback is that the municipality loses its ability to conform development to the plan in operation. They claimed that this is one of the major reasons for the prevalence of illegal development in Jeddah, as developers and regular people build without consideration of the plans (about which they know little or nothing) and its regulations and policies. For example, ACD5 said:

‘Plans did not come from all the urban agencies responsible for the city’s development. The plans were a product of the municipality orientation and, for that reason, other agencies did not adapt them’.

This point was also highlighted by four of the five senior municipality planners interviewed in this research. For example, SP4 said:

‘The absence of public participation in urban planning and development has resulted in many unwanted developments and decisions, as well as trespassing and the spread of illegal developments’.

D. Project priorities

The interviewees took the view that limited participation had affected the priorities and selection of projects, primarily by making it the case that the public’s needs did not influence project selection and prioritising. This had led to many deluxe projects

over a period when the city has been much more needful of direct investments in the building of basic infrastructure and creating and maintaining urban services. This point was raised mainly by academics and municipal council members. For example, MCME 1 said:

‘Limited participation led to the existence of many less important projects: For example, money was spent on marble sidewalks and beautifying projects, while important infrastructure projects were ignored’.

In addition, ACD 2 said:

‘Limited participation in the planning and development process made individuals perform single-handedly, for example, one of the city mayors was convinced by the grand use approach, believing this would add value to the city, so that many projects implemented during his time in office were aimed at helping the city to enter the Guinness World Records’ book. And, in fact, about 12 projects in Jeddah entered the book during that time. The municipality spent millions of dollars on these projects, and it is true that these projects added some value to Jeddah – but I don’t believe they were what the public needed. These projects took the place of many important infrastructure projects that would have made the city living environment much better’.

E. Post-planning evaluation and changes

Limited participation in Jeddah’s urban planning process not only had effects at the time they were implemented, but on the changes that were made later to these plans as the municipality dealt with them. If, for instance, one installs marble sidewalks in a certain area, one has to spend more money on maintaining them, and less on cement sidewalks. Even though problems were emerging in city services that called for attention and resolution in the context of the sum total of priorities, the municipality was making decisions on a case-by-case basis, which meant that many changes to the plans made

things even worse. Interviewees from all three categories raised this point and explained it in different ways and places during the interviews. For example, ACD 5 said:

‘The changes made in plans were handled from an individual point of view. For instance, the mayor was the person responsible for making decisions on any exemption on any given day. Moreover, the lack of participation of many urban actors in the re-evaluation stages sometimes resulted in changes that made things even worse’.

SP 4 said:

‘Jeddah is a very dynamic city and development rates at that time were really high. A lot of things happened that were not expected in the plans. In addition, the municipality made many changes to the original plans to adapt the situation; but, unfortunately, their decisions about these changes were mainly made without consultation. This, in many cases, made the situation worse’.

6.3.1.3 Over-centralisation

All participants believed that the centralisation of the government administrative structure and the decision-making system counted among the factors that affected urban planning in Jeddah negatively. This theme was one of three mentioned by all interviewees (please see Table 6.2). Eight participants mentioned it eight or more times, while no one mentioned it less than two times. Senior municipality planners mentioned it the most, followed by the local academics and municipal council members. This may be attributed to the fact that they have more experience and field practice, which has brought them more often into contact with the effects of centralisation.

The theme was referred to in different ways in the interview data, but mostly by the terms ‘centralisation’ and ‘central government’. However, the interview data made it possible for us to divide the theme into two aspects: the government structure is one of them, and the second concerns central decision-making and local autonomy. Interviewees from the senior municipality planners were most interested in the government structure, which they feel is affecting their work and the planning process in Jeddah. In contrast, local academics and municipal council members were more interested in the second aspect, central decision-making and local autonomy.

A. Government structure

Interviewees, especially among the senior planners, believed that the government structure with its central orientation was one of the major factors determining the success of urban planning in Jeddah, as well as helping shape the work of local agencies in general. They argued that the centralised decision-making weakened the efficiency of local agencies, including the municipality, as they could not control their budgets or assert final approval of development projects. For example, SP 1 said:

‘The government structure is affecting the local agencies’ work. The central government controls the budget and reserves the final decision on development projects. This makes certain that many of the municipality projects do not see the light’.

Interviewees across all groups believed that the government structure fails to sufficiently link together urban agencies at the local level. This is inherent in the current practice of letting each local agency report directly to its corresponding office or

municipality in the central government, which isolates each division and impairs coordination and communication about urban development at the local level. Senior planners, who have all experienced this, highlighted the current practice of delaying the work because of the uncoordinated responses of local agencies. For example, SP 3 said:

‘The current government structure delays the work of local urban agencies. Final decisions should be made by the central government, and each project should be approved by the central government for funding’.

Interviewees also believed that the government setting has malign effects on the harmony of development in Jeddah. They argue that the separate linking of each local agency to its central department or ministry, which controls its budget and approves projects, encouraged each local agency to work alone instead of as a team. For example, ACD 1 said:

‘Linking local agencies to their central ministries means that each agency is working alone. Sometimes, a local agency will ask for an approval on a project and the ministry will not approve it for any reason. This delays the work in the city and disrupts the harmony needed between development projects. This is a problem if the delayed project is a prerequisite for another project in the city’.

Also, SP 2 said on this point:

‘Local agencies should work as a team. Linking them to the central government and letting them work alone at the local level misses this aspect of teamwork’.

Furthermore, interviewees believed that the current government structure creates role conflicts between local agencies. It also creates a vacuum in authority, as it places all local agencies on the same level, with no single agency having oversight over all others as regards governance. For example, SP 4 said:

‘The existing local government setting creates a conflict in the role of the mayor and the governor, which affects the planning and development process’.

They also argued that putting all local agencies at the same level and failing to create vertical lines of authority that clearly represent the different levels of the operational domains of these agencies leads to operational conflicts. The current horizontal setting does not allow any agency to monitor any other agency’s work. For example, ACD 3 said:

‘In some stages the municipality was taking the legislative, executive, and supervisory role; this affects the evaluation of the municipality’s work and influences the development process’.

B. Decision-making and local autonomy

All interviewees, believed that the current decision-making system is too centralised and that this affects urban development in Jeddah and all the Saudi cities. These views were most strongly held among local academics and municipal council members, who argue that leaving the monopoly of decision-making in the hands of policy makers at the national level reduces the power at the local level and diminishes the efficiency and pertinence of urban development progress. They argued that national-level priorities were different from those at the local level. As MCMA 4 said:

‘Local priorities are different from national ones. For example, a city may need a hospital badly, but the health ministry cannot approve it because they need to approve another hospital in another city’.

Also, interviewees across groups raised the point that the national government’s habit of making decisions and implementing projects in all the Saudi cities failed to take into account local differences between them. They argued that all regulations and policies

should be made locally, since a strong level of local autonomy is needed for success in urban development. For example, ACD 4 said:

‘The kingdom is a large country, and there are local geographical and social differences that should be considered. What works in Riyadh may not work in Jeddah. A level of local autonomy is needed’.

6.3.1.4 Comprehensiveness

All participants believed that prior plans and the planning process in Jeddah ignored to some degree the social and environmental aspects of planning. They argued that this neglect had negatively affected the planning process and human environment in Jeddah. The argument was most strongly made by municipal council members and local academics. On the other hand, four interviewees (three, significantly, from the ‘senior planners’ category) did not mention this theme (see Table 6.2).

The theme was referred to in different ways in the interview data, but mostly by the terms ‘social/environmental issues/aspects’, ‘consideration of social/environmental aspects’, and ‘traditional land use planning’. The theme arose in the interviews in two ways: firstly, when the interviewees were discussing the planning process in Jeddah in relation to the way the plans had followed the traditional urban planning approach of land use and transportation planning; and secondly, when interviewees were discussing the fact that urban planning in Jeddah ignored or did not consider social and environmental issues. The interviewees who raised the theme in the first place were arguing that urban planning in Jeddah has been very traditional and only focused on land use and transportation planning and regulation. Mainly, the argument took this form among the academics. The interviewees who raised the theme in the second place linked it to the

perception that the planning process in Jeddah had not been comprehensive enough. The interviewees who raised the theme in this way were mostly from the ‘municipal council members’ group.

However, the interviewees who mentioned this theme did rank it highly, believing that the neglect of social and environmental aspects was one of the main causes of Jeddah’s of urban planning failures. The points below summarise how interviewees viewed this effect on Jeddah.

A. Social aspects

The interviewees believed that previous plans ignored important social aspects, such as the social patterns characteristic of old Jeddah. They argued that the plans came with new developmental units that did not previously exist in old Jeddah, imposing a different population density and introducing different lifestyles on a population that had no choice in the matter. For example, ACD 2 said:

‘The plans did not consider the local social aspects and characteristics of Jeddah. Previously, Jeddah’s density and urban pattern were totally different, and the new plan ignored this. The plans introduce a very different density and create a different city. There was not enough consideration given to local social issues’.

The interviewees also pointed out that the planning personnel and administrators showed no awareness of many important social aspects of Jeddah, such as differing age groups, gender (especially as regards females), and disabled members of the population. For example, MCMA 3 said,

‘There was a total ignorance of the social aspects. Disabled people can hardly move in Jeddah’.

B. Environmental aspects

The interviewees also raised the issue of the neglect of environmental issues in the urban planning processes, which resulted in a total lack of research into the many environmental impacts of decisions. They believed that this blindness has contributed to the poor living environment in Jeddah. For example, MCMA 1 said:

‘Many decisions were taken without enough environmental consideration. One of the most important decisions concerned having the city discharge its domestic sewage water to septic tanks underground. This decision would not been taken if environmental issues were considered. As a result of this decision, there are now many problems in the city from polluted underground water and soil’.

ACD 2 also pointed out a sewage-related issue:

‘The blindness to the environmental impacts of many decisions affects the quality of life in Jeddah. For example, the decision about discharging sewage into the sea and in closed areas, such as what people call “the forty lake” (pohairat alarbaeen), is a decision that ignored environmental impacts. The lake water became polluted, and the area around it is very smelly. Now the municipality is spending millions to solve the problem’.

6.3.1.5 High urbanisation rate

All the participants (except one from the municipal council members’ group) argued that the high urbanisation rate of the 1970s and 1980s had major effects on previous and ongoing urban planning in Jeddah (see Table 6.2). The interviewees generally concurred in saying that this high rate of development and urbanisation presented a major challenge to the planning process during this period, and the failure to cope with it at the planning level had and continues to have negative impacts on the city.

The interviewees articulated the theme in different ways that corresponded roughly to the groups they were in. Local academics and senior municipality planners mostly used the term 'high urbanisation rate'. The municipal council members' group talked about a 'high growth rate'. Also, the theme came up under the term 'high development rate'. However, these different labels reflected the same concept. All were referring to the fast rate of growth and development that happened during the 1970s and 1980s, in tandem with the oil boom that dramatically increased the funding available to the kingdom.

This increase in the national revenues provided a window of opportunity in which Saudi cities, including Jeddah, could benefit from massive developmental projects. The economic situation, in combination with the national government's policies, projects, and determination to help Saudi cities had a positive effect on Jeddah and Saudi cities in many aspects. It certainly transformed them. However, the boom also had unexpected negative effects that are the product of booms: more incentives for illegal development, higher population mobility resulting in sudden urban population jumps, strain on existing urban infrastructures, etc. This naturally challenged Jeddah's urban planning and development process. These challenges were aggravated by a series of poor decisions made during this period.

However, they analysed the fact, the interviewees all believed that the high urbanisation rate was a major determinant of the failure of urban planning in Jeddah. The

points below summarise how the interviewees believe this growth will continue to affect Jeddah.

A. On-site coordination

Interviewees believed that the rhythm of development and the number of projects everywhere in the city created an unprecedented working environment there. To succeed in implementing projects, coordination had to be accounted for and had to be tight. However, on-site implementation was made much more difficult by a lack of coordination, which diminished the quality of these projects. The local academics and senior municipality planners both highlighted this point. For example, ACD 1 said:

‘Many called Saudi Arabia the biggest opened workshop in the world in the late 70s and early 80s. Developments were everywhere in the city; many projects were working at the same time, which made on-site coordination – and therefore planning – very difficult’.

At another point, he added an instance of an expensive construction solution:

‘... building materials, like cement, were transported by helicopters from ships in the sea to construction locations’.

Also, SP 3 said:

‘In this period [the 1970s and 1980s] projects were everywhere in the city. Creating a daily report about on-site progress was difficult. Running this number of projects affects the quality of them’.

B. Quick decisions, negative impacts

Participants from all three groups agreed that, in the context of the high urbanisation rate in Jeddah, there were problems with the working environment that were exacerbated by implementing many developmental decisions at the same time. Many decisions were made under pressure and were not thoroughly analysed and studied

enough to allow for future negative scenarios to be considered. The legacy of these decisions remains with Jeddah to this day, conditioning the poor living environment. For example, SP1 said:

‘In some stages implementation came before planning; this may truly contribute to the development of the city, but on the other hand, some of the negative aspects of projects were not studied in a proper way. For example, the waterfront project came in with many benefits to the city, but not spending enough time studying the project resulted in some serious problems that could have been avoided from the beginning. One of these problems was that the project blocked natural canals of discharging natural underground water, which raised the water table level in the city, and thus construction costs in many areas’.

Also, MCME 2 said:

‘Many decisions made in the 1970s and 1980s were not studied enough, and now their negative impacts affect the people’s lives in the city’.

6.3.1.6 Continuity and flexibility

Many of our interviewees believe that the urban planning in Jeddah has not been a continuous process that sustains urban development projects and allows for their continuous re-evaluation, repair and improvement. This theme was highlighted by all participants, with the exception of three of the municipal council members (see Table 6.2). Participants used different terms to make this point. For example, local academics mainly used the terms ‘process’, ‘continuance’ and ‘flexibility’, and senior planners used the term ‘discontinuity’.

The theme of the continuity of the planning process is closely related to its flexibility in allowing later necessary changes, repairs and additions. Participants' definitions of continuity refer to dealing with urban planning as a process that continues working after the implementation stage by continually monitoring and re-evaluating the situation and changing or modifying new variables and requirements that emerge in the trajectory of urban development. By flexibility, our participants meant a way to quickly and correctly respond to these required changes.

The participants saw many reasons behind these problems in Jeddah. The points below summarise the participants' arguments:

- Continuity

A. Individualisation

This approach is based on investing power in the roles of individuals, rather than fashioning staff roles to function collaboratively as parts of teams defined within institutions or that function across institutional boundaries. Thus management and staff changes disrupt project continuity and functioning, and bring about volatility in the setting of work goals, priorities and approach. This point has been made by participants from the three groups. For example, ACD 2 said:

'The continuity of the planning and development process has been affected by individuals coming in with the changing of the mayor and changing expectations in planning and development approaches. The system does not ensure planning and development continuity. Individuals have huge influence over the process'.

Also, SP 2 said:

‘The changes made by individuals to the planning and development approach are affecting the continuity of the process; each new mayor goes back to the starting point and does not continue the approach of the previous one. This affects the way the city develops and the way new problems are approached’.

B. Problems in the project-based approach

The use of a project-based approach in urban development has not always been accomplished in a coherent fashion, ideally with each project being considered in relation to other projects in the city. Instead, they are considered in isolation, and those projects that have been completed are often forgotten. This point was highlighted mainly by academics and senior municipality planners. For example, SP 3 said:

‘When we deal with urban issues as projects, it means that when a project is finished, the issue is finished too. This has made it difficult to maintain these projects after completion. The project-based approach was one of the problems encountered in the Jeddah urban planning process’.

Also, ACD 5 said:

‘Dealing with urban planning on a project basis was wrong; it was an obstacle to the municipality in dealing with the dynamic nature of the city’.

C. The absence of an updating mechanism

No updating mechanism was ever developed for the planning process, and thus there is no protocol in place that monitors, re-evaluates and updates the process with changes as needed. No agency took this as a responsibility, perhaps because status was accrued only by doing new projects. There was thus no process to assess the post-implementation phase of projects and sustain and modify them in the changing urban environment. This point has been made mainly by local academics and senior planners. For example, ACD 1 said:

‘Plans for updates were neglected. There was no mechanism in the planning process to allow for updates to cope with changes happening on the ground’.

Also, SP 5 said:

‘The plans do not provide a strategy for updates. They were designed as though this was the only way the city would grow and develop. There were no methods to provide for changing plans according to the reality of the city’s future’.

D. Independent management

The municipality took on the total responsibility for running and managing the implementation of the plans. The interviewees generally regarded this as a mistake, arguing that a better approach would be to create a separate, independent agency to run, monitor, re-evaluate, and update the plans as needed. This office might focus on reviewing the plans and changing them, while the municipality would concentrate on providing urban services and short-term issues. All three groups agreed with this point.

For example, SP 4 said:

‘The municipality took a large role in the plans from the beginning. It was the organisation that prepared, developed, and implemented the plans. This resulted in many negative points ... having to do with ensuring the continuity of the planning process properly by monitoring and updating the plans. But the municipality was very busy with a lot of issues and daily work. A separate body could have continued the process better and focused on updating the process more’.

MCMA 1 also said:

‘It was the municipality’s responsibility to run the implementation. The number of developments in the city was huge, which made it a difficult task to be handled by the municipality, which was busy with its daily work. The amount of work handled by the municipality made it difficult for the officials to shift their minds from the daily work. It might have been easier if a different agency had been created to run and update the plans’.

- Flexibility

A. The decision-making system

The municipality, which ran and managed urban development, was not the only agency responsible for the decisions about urban development. But the municipality often had difficulty communicating with other agencies that were working at the same level.

This made making decisions or changing the plans very difficult.

As mentioned before, projects and changes could not be started before they received approval from the national government. The main role for local agencies was as an operative far down the chain of command because they had very limited legislative or decision-making capabilities. This point was taken up by all of the groups who participated in the research. For example, SP 2 said:

‘The system makes local level agencies mainly take an operational role. Most of the decision-making process is done on a national level. This made decisions and changes time-consuming’.

Also, ACD 2 said:

‘The system makes communications between local level agencies very difficult. For example, the municipality sometimes needed to communicate and convince the Ministry of Health or Education in Riyadh to make some changes. This resulted in delaying many decisions and changes’.

B. Urban policies

The members of the three groups all agreed that the plans were rigid. Plans were designed to give single options for development, and they neglected to project different future scenarios and different solutions. The plans formulated were mostly maps, and maps are hard to change. There was a need to develop more urban policies to run and

regulate development and change strategies dynamically in tandem with Jeddah's rapidly-changing urban environment. Academics and planners were the two groups most interested in making this point. For example, ACD 3 said:

'Plans were mostly maps. Very few efforts have been made for developing urban policies to manage the future of the city that can be modified when needed'.

Also, SP 5 said:

'The plans were designed as if there existed no other option for development. They were very rigid in their vision, like everything would go as they wished and planned. They were not flexible and open to different scenarios. Sometimes, then, changes would mean changing the whole plan'.

Finally, participants believe that this lack of continuity and flexibility in the planning process affected Jeddah in many ways. Listed below are the main effects the interviewees mentioned during their interviews:

C. Maintenance and development

The participants believed that the current inadequacies of many projects in Jeddah can be traced back to the lack of continuity and flexibility in the planning process. Maintenance and development for these projects ceased when the project was completed. Many roads and major projects now need upgrades, but these issues have not been revisited. The further problem with lack of flexibility during the planning implementation phase was that modification meant stopping the process, which would result in stopping the development of these projects and their neglect. This fact was mentioned by participants from all three groups. For example, MCMA 4 said:

‘Many projects and services are in a bad situation now because attention to them stopped when they were finished’.

ACD 2 also said:

‘Urban development never stops and major projects need continuance, attention and development. The current process does not allow for this, which results in the degraded situation of many projects in the city’.

SP2 also said:

‘Dealing with urban issues as projects, when a project finished the issue finished too, making the maintenance of these projects later very weak. The project-based approach was one of the problems of the Jeddah urban planning process’.

D. Illegal development

Many illegal developments have proliferated in Jeddah. Our interviewees all believed that this problem could be traced back in part to the inflexibility of the planning process. They argued that urban development trends change, and it is difficult to force people to address them. Planners should continue reviewing these trends and dealing with them accordingly. This point was highlighted by academics and planners. For example,

ACD 3 said:

‘Deadlines generate development trends and directions that cannot be challenged. Plans can guide development to a limited extent, but in the end it must be managed. People and developers will always have some wishes that should be respected. The planning in Jeddah did not respect these wishes, and this resulted in many illegal developments’.

Also, SP 2 said:

‘Dealing with urban planning as a project was wrong. It was an obstacle for the municipality in dealing with the dynamic nature of the city’.

E. Minimising the impacts of new developments

Participants believe that the lack of flexibility in the plans and the lack of continuous updates in Jeddah meant the impact of the new developments that came on line were magnified and unexpected. This influenced the city both negatively and positively. Participants agreed that the process should have had the capacity to continually assess the impact of new developments, so that one could foresee ways to minimise negative impacts when new problems arose. All the groups concurred on this point. For example, MCMA 3 said:

‘Developments that happened in the 1970s and 1980s brought new things and life to Jeddah. The impacts of these developments should be studied and minimised, but the process stopped when the project was finished’.

ACD 4 also said:

‘Many negative impacts of the new development could have been minimised. The plans ignored what might occur after development and did not continue to assess the new situation and work to minimise its negative impacts’.

Also, SP 2 spoke about the fact that the atmosphere in the municipality was antithetical to criticism and concerned with its self-image, which made it hard to point out or think about any negative future impacts to current projects:

‘We [municipality officials] boasted about being the biggest workshop in the world, and any criticism or highlighting of negative aspects of the project would upset us. This, in fact, resulted in many negatives that could have been minimised if they have been discussed. It is like fire under ash of which we should have been aware from the beginning’.

6.3.1.7 Funding and budgeting

Many of the interviewees believed that the fact that control of the funding and budget mechanism being in the hands of the national government negatively affected the

urban planning and development process in Jeddah. The most emphatic advocates of this theme were the senior municipality planners and the appointed municipal council members, while only three academics mentioned it, and then only once (see Table 6.2). The groups with the most experience of the theme at hand were, again, those most aware of it. In terms of the articulation of funding issues, different terms like ‘fund mechanism’ and ‘budget control’ were used to make this point.

The participants in the above-mentioned groups took the view that the central government should never have had complete control of project funds and budgets, as this caused power asymmetries and took away an important feedback loop from the local authorities. This centralised approach means all local funds raised by the local authorities are transferred to the central government and so allows the central government the exclusive privilege of scheduling the budget for local authorities. As James Madison wrote in *The Federalist*, ‘that power that holds the purse strings absolutely must rule’. In the case of Jeddah’s urban planning history, in the interviewees’ opinion, that power of the purse strings inevitably puts local and national interests in conflict. The ministries, not having to deal with the local consequences, have one kind of interest in development projects while local agencies who must necessarily deal with the issues from a local perspective have to respond to other interests.

Participants expressed their problems with the funding system by pointing out the many perverse effects that ensued from it, as summarised in the points below.

A. Lack of cohesion and harmony

Interviewees saw the fund mechanism as one that prevented cohesive development at the local level. In as much as diverse projects were funded nationally without taking into account local feedback, this negatively affected the harmony and quality of development as a whole, as each separate development project proceeded unlinked to any other. They argued that the making of decisions about funding for development at the local level would have necessarily brought together many agencies and stakeholders in forums where conflicts could have been hammered out. As it was, each stakeholder had an incentive to act independently in trying to obtain the funding for their part of a project, without regard to the context of the whole project. This point has been mentioned mainly by senior planners and municipal council members. For example, SP 1 said:

‘It is common in local level major projects for several agencies to work together in the project. The fund mechanism sometimes affects the harmony of work between these agencies. Funding would not come to one of these agencies, which then had to delay work on its part’.

MCMA 3 also said:

‘Local priorities are different from national. This sometime affects development in the city. When funds do not come at the right time for an agency to complete its part in the development, the complete picture of the development of the city is affected’.

B. Project maintenance and development

In the view of interviewees, another effect of the national monopoly of the funding and budgeting mechanisms has been to create problems for the maintenance and development of existing urban projects. The point, raised mainly by municipal council members, is that the responsibility for urban project development and maintenance have

been delegated to several agencies in Jeddah, and therefore, when one of the agencies receives funding and another does not, certain of these functions are underfunded or simply terminated. For example, MCMA 2 said:

‘The budgeting mechanism affects the maintenance and development of major developments in Jeddah. For example, “the cornice” is an area that is in a really bad situation. Improving and maintaining this area requires work from several agencies. But when one agency is given the funds to work on it, the other agencies do not have funds’.

C. Problems aggravated by ‘patch funding’

Participants believed that there was a divide between the reality of collaborative problem-solving in Jeddah, which requires the coordinated attention and work of many agencies in the city, and the fund and budgeting mechanisms, which are dedicated to one-on-one funding relationships between the national government and the city agency. This creates a hurdle to coordinated project maintenance among local agencies and prevents them from working together to handle and solve local matters. This point was taken up most strongly by senior planners and municipal council members. For example, SP 4 said:

‘Local level issues and problems require the cooperation of many agencies in the city. The current funding mechanisms tend to make this collaborative work difficult. Until this work is completed, the situations often become worse’.

6.3.1.8 Information

Many participants involved in the research project believe that the access to and flow of information required for planning has been poor in Jeddah, with negative impacts on the planning process and the human environment. All three of our groups raised this

point, using direct terms such as ‘information’ and ‘data’ in the interviews (see Table 6.2).

By information, participants are referring to the information or data relevant to the preparation, implementation and monitoring of a plan. They argue that such information is required to successfully plan projects in all of their phases, and that in this regard, Jeddah’s urban projects have been marked by failures of communication that mirror the organisational failures alluded to above. The points below summarise why participants believe that urban planning in Jeddah has been so often crippled by this lack of information flow.

A. Availability

Interviewees agreed that Jeddah’s communications and data storage problems can be traced back to the absence of a centre or agency that is dedicated to collecting and making accessible this information. The same point was raised in the responses from participants in all three groups. For example, SP 1 said:

‘There was no information about Jeddah’s urban situation because there was no information centre for the city. Each agency was collecting its data separately’.

Also, ACD 2 said:

‘The absence of a database that would provide information to local authorities was one of the problems facing urban planning in Jeddah. Information was not available to local authorities to make correct decisions’.

B. Information quality

Participants believed that, given the lack of a centre in which information could be stored and accessed, information quality tended to be poor, all too often relying on hearsay or unchallenged assumptions. The interviewees argued that this defect in the flow of information made it difficult to make and implement plans of any scope in Jeddah. They all felt that some data centre should be created. The senior planners and academics were especially concerned about this point. For example, SP 3 said:

‘At that time [before preparing Jeddah’s plans] the data available for planners were collected by different agencies separately. This means that the data was different in timeliness, format, accuracy, and geographical linking, which sometimes makes it seem as though this data did not exist. Many times we felt that the data are not reliable, and we need to collect our own’.

C. Information accessibility

Participants not only wanted information to be collected and thus be available, but they also did not want to go through many obstacles to get it. They believed that access to information was a problem in Jeddah, which made it a chore to collect the required information to plan and monitor performance. The interviewees cited the local government structure as the ultimate reason that information was inaccessible. Inter-agency communication was difficult, given that local agencies were often not collaborating, and sometimes even in conflict. This point has been raised by senior planners and municipal council members. For example, SP 2 said:

‘Poor communication between local agencies makes sharing and accessing information difficult. Each agency collects its own data and keeps it for itself. They are afraid that other agencies would use these data to gauge their performance’.

D. Flow of information

Interviewees believed that information collection in Jeddah was contaminated by problems in the flow of information, which in turn infected the methods for data collection. This situation, they argued, needed to be reversed, so that the planning process and information flow could be integrated. This point was highlighted by senior planners.

For example, SP 3 said:

‘The planning process needs a flow of information to be able to plan and make decisions. The flow of information in Jeddah was always cut because each agency collects information when they need it’.

More closely analysing the information issues that our participants were interested in, using as our major categories ‘availability’ and ‘quality’, we can see sub-themes emerge concerning communication practice. These are summarised in the points below.

A. Time and effort

All of our participants noted that searching for information in the planning process took more time than it should have, given the fact that such searches were often redundant: one department or project would have to redo what another had already done, since there was no way the first team could access the information gathered by the second. Thus planners working on the plans had to divide their time between find and preparing the required information, a task they should not have had so much effort devoted to it. This point was especially emphasised by senior planners. For example, SP 5 said:

‘Information collection was a problem for planners in the early plans for Jeddah. Planners spent considerable time preparing data to make these plans’.

B. Reliability

The interviewees expressed some frustration with the degree of reliability of information on urban development in Jeddah. They argued that planning without reliable information builds in perverse effects and bad decisions. Senior planners, again, were the most concerned to make this point. For example, SP2 said:

‘The reliability of information has affected many planning decisions. Information was always a problem in Jeddah. Sometimes decisions based on incorrect information cost the city. For example, some information on land ownership was incorrect and later the government paid to implement on these lands’.

6.3.1.9 Human resources

Interviewees in all three groups were concerned that there was a shortage of local planning expertise in Jeddah and that those with expertise often lacked experience. In terms of emphasis, senior local planners and municipal council appointed members mentioned the point more than local academics (three of whom raised the theme) and elected municipal council members (one of whom raised the theme) (see Table 6.2).

Interviewees talked about this theme in the interviews using different terms. The senior municipality planners who mentioned it mostly used the terms ‘local planners’ and ‘experienced planners’. Academics used the term ‘local professionals’. Municipal council members used the term ‘local experts’.

Interviewees discussed this theme under two headings: the availability of local planners, and their limited experience.

A. Shortage of local planners

All groups concurred that the shortage of local planners in Jeddah proved a severe drawback in drawing up and implementing urban plans and development. For example, SP 2 said:

‘When plans started there were few local planners. In fact, you can count them with the fingers on your hands’.

B. Planners’ limited experience

Even those who had training in urban planning, according to our interviewees, suffered from having limited practical experience, especially given the scope of the tasks at hand. This point was mentioned in the interview data by senior municipality planners and local academics. For example, ACD 2 said:

‘Saudi planners were not only unavailable, but also had limited practical experience. Some of them were fresh graduates from nearby countries’.

Without the tacit knowledge that accrues from experience, our interviewees concluded that these two human resource factors (the shortage of local urban planning professionals, and their lack of experience) negatively affected the planning process. The points below discuss the participants’ analysis of the deficiencies of Jeddah’s human resources.

A. Foreign consultants

Because of the lack of experience of trained urban planners in Saudi Arabia, as the interviewees pointed out, the government had to sign contracts with foreign consultants to plan Jeddah. Thus an external foreign planning corps with little on-the-ground experience of the area was given control of plans that should have reflected feedback from the affected population before they were set in place. The interviewees believed that this created deficiencies in the plans, especially in regard to social aspects. It thus came about that exotic designs were imposed as though on a tabula rasa, when in actuality the city and region had a rich and complex society and history. This point was especially of interest to local academics and senior planners. For example, SP 3 said:

‘The expert human resources were very limited in the municipality; this limited the capability of the municipality in managing a planning process and forced them to hire consultants to plan the city. And as a result, the plans came in with many foreign ideas’.

Also, ACD 4 said:

‘Local planners were few and their experience was very limited. The government therefore brought foreign consultants ... even though the foreign consultants were well known officers with international experience but they brought foreign ideas. Some of these ideas did not consider local social aspects’.

B. Capacity to continue planning and maintain past development

Interviewees analysed another dimension of the problem caused by the dominance of outside planners and the comparative weakness of the few number of local planners: the limited experience of the latter diminished their capacity to continue creating projects that were consistent with the previous urban planning and development process.

Furthermore, the lack of experienced human resources also limited the city's ability to maintain its already completed projects. In all three groups, interviewees made this point.

For example, SP 5 said:

'Local planners had very limited experience. For many of them the work in the project with the foreign consultant was like on-site training ... when the foreign consultant finished the project and left, the local planners' limited experience in post-implementation development deteriorated their capacity to continue the process and even maintain achievements'.

6.4 The municipal council phase (the present)

In 2005 the Government of Saudi Arabia announced the establishment of 178 municipal councils in Saudi cities. Our interviews concerning this contemporary phase of Jeddah's urban planning trajectory were focused on testing and examining the attitudes of our participants towards this new form of local governance in relation to its effects on the urban planning and development process. They also took up the question of whether the change in the governance structure could provide the needed forum for developing feedback and planning capacity to overcome the problems associated with Jeddah's previous planning process.

In this part of the interviews, two main questions were posed to the participants.

3- What do you think about the establishment of the municipal council in Jeddah?

This question was intended to direct the participants' attention to the change wrought by the start up of Jeddah's municipal council and to get a sense of how they viewed the change, whether negatively or positively.

4- How has this decision influenced the urban planning and development process, and does it solve the previously discussed problems?

With this question, it was intended to open a more focused discussion about the change and, in particular, to locate it in the history of Jeddah's urban planning. It was intended to see what comparisons interviewees would make to the situation before and after the establishment of the municipal council.

6.4.1 Analysis (the present)

1- What do you think about the establishment of a municipal council in Jeddah?

The answers to this first question were all positive. All participants agreed that the establishment of a municipal council in both Jeddah and other Saudi cities marked a positive change and a huge leap towards a more contemporary model of controlling and planning development via local governance.

All interviewees believed that the decision allowed the public to finally participate in local level issues that vitally concerned them, and opened new directions in the governance of Saudi cities.

However, underneath the surface of agreement, there were small differences in answers to this question. Participants from the academic category were more focused on discussing the establishment of municipal councils from the perspective of the modern history of Saudi Arabia, and what a historic step it was to witness the first public election in the modern history of the country. For example, ACD 2 said in his answer to the question:

‘The municipal council establishment was a remarkable change. It allowed for the first public election in the modern history of the kingdom. Public representatives were elected and charged with involvement in the local governance’.

However, the senior municipality planners focused their responses more on the contemporary political scene, viewing the municipal council elections in terms of the recent reform movement started by King Abdullah. For example, SMP2 said:

‘Sure, the new municipal council is a part of King Abdullah’s reform movement’.

The participants who serve on the municipal council focused mostly on the public participation aspect of the new municipal councils. For example, MCME 1 said:

‘The establishment of the municipal council was heartening news for the public; it established a way for them to participate in their city development in a way they like’.

Finally, our interviewees saw the establishment of a municipal council in Jeddah as a positive change for the two reasons given below:

A. A necessary step toward development

Participants were agreed that the establishment of the new municipal council was the right move towards a new governance arrangement that would greatly improve the urban planning and development process in Jeddah.

This point was especially important to local academics and municipal council members.

For example, ACD 1 said:

‘Even if the MC is a building with an agency, it is still a dream fulfilled, because it at least solidifies this new concept in urban governance, and is a step forward in development’.

Also, some senior planners and local academics see the establishment of the municipal council as an improvement in the ongoing relationship between the municipality and the public. For example, SP 3 said:

‘The establishment of the municipal council is a way to improve the strained relationship between the municipality and the public; for a long time, many considered the municipality an adversary to the people’.

ACD 4 said:

‘The municipal council provided some with a satisfying way for the municipality to make decisions for developing and managing the city’.

B. A way to participate

All of our groups concurred in thinking that the establishment of the municipal council should open a window for the public to participate in the urban development process. For example, MCMA 2 said:

‘The municipal council was needed. Most of the time this kind of arrangement allows for more participation in the planning process, which may make decisions more successful and better adapted’.

2- How does the decision influence the urban planning and development process, and does it solve the problems discussed previously in the interview?

Regarding the influence of this change on local governance in the urban planning and development process, all our participants said the situation has certainly changed. However, to encourage a comparison between the situation before and after the municipal councils were established, the same thematically keyed process of prompting larger discussion and using an iterative coding process to review all the interviews individually was used to identify major themes in the participants’ answers and discussion points.

To generate a coding protocol consistent with other phases in this research, the researcher used the same kind of grounded theory approach to allow categories to emerge

from the interview data. This coding protocol was developed through multiple stages. On a first pass through the data, the researcher noted every new topic raised by each interviewee. The list of these topics provided a preliminary coding schedule that the researcher then applied systematically to each interview, resulting in a set of coding transcripts upon which each reference to each theme was marked. Next, the researcher applied a temporally-oriented analysis to the coded transcripts to note specific themes reflecting the current state of urban planning in Jeddah. This analysis generated interview transcripts coded by stakeholder group, position on timeline, and theme.

By applying this research technique to interview data, it turned out that two of the themes that emerged in the interviewees' answers on Jeddah's past were not even mentioned by the interviewees when speaking of Jeddah's present, while one new theme appeared in the data.

The two themes that disappeared in the data were human resources and the urbanisation rate. One could argue that these themes went unmentioned because they were bound to past circumstances that influenced the urban planning and development process. The startling climb in the urbanisation rate that characterised the 1970s and 1980s has stabilised. Similarly, shortages of planners and experience in the past, when Saudi Arabia was just beginning its developmental ascent, have been resolved as more urban planners came out of colleges and universities and the generation of older Saudi urban planners gained experience.

The new theme that appeared in the interview data is the conflict of authority (see Table 6.2). Following the introduction of the municipal council to the governance setting, conflicts emerged where previously there had been separate domains of activity delegated to different agencies. It is understandable that the assertion of authority of the municipal council would create conflicts. Below we present the results of our analysis of how the participants conceived the state of contemporary urban planning and development in Jeddah under the influence of the new municipal council.

6.4.1.1 Coordination

All participants believe that the establishment of the municipal council has not yet addressed the lack of coordination among stakeholders at the local level that hobbles the three stages of the planning process (pre-planning preparation, implementation, and post-planning maintenance and modification). In fact, our interviewees did not see any positive influence from the municipal council here, which was the only theme in which this was the case (see Table 6.2). Moreover, many participants believe that the municipal council, in its current setting and given its level of authority, negatively influences the planning process for two reasons:

A. A new authority

Participants argued that when the municipal council was established, there was a lack of clarity about the scope of its authority and its role in the development process. The impact of this, they said, worsened the state of the coordination required to plan and

manage development in the city. The senior planners and local academics were the most emphatic about this point. For example, ACD 3 said:

‘The establishment of the municipal council is a positive change at the local governance level. But it is a recent change and it also has negative aspects. One of the negatives of the municipal council is that its role and responsibilities as a new agency are unclear. This confuses municipality officials and even the municipal council [itself], and it affects the coordination required for success in managing development in the city’.

This was reiterated by SP 2, who said:

‘The municipal council is a new element in the process. Municipal council members are still confused about the role and authority they have. This negatively affects coordination between the municipality and council’.

B. Lack of communication

Interviewees pointed out that the municipal council’s own regulations are a problem because they forbid the council from directly communicating with other urban agencies in the city. This creates an obstacle to the coordination required between different local agencies in the city in the planning process. This point came up most in the responses of the municipal council members. For example, MCME 3 said:

‘We do not have the right to directly contact local agencies other than the municipality. Sometimes in our weekly meeting, which is open for the public, people come to us to discuss issues. But we can do nothing about these issues because they need to be discussed with someone in a local agency other than the municipality. For example, we cannot directly contact the fire or health departments, and this means that we cannot coordinate between them and the public’.

6.4.1.2 Participation

Interviewees believed that the establishment of the municipal council has influenced participation in the planning process positively by opening an official channel for the public to officially participate in the planning process. They believe that this officially sanctioned participation, even if limited, is a first step forward. This point has been raised by interviewees from across the three groups (see Table 6.2). For example, SP 4 said:

‘The municipal council has opened an official channel for the public to participate in the planning process, which was not available before’.

Also ACD 5 said:

‘Even though many consider the public participation in the planning process through the municipal council to be very limited, it is the first time that official public participation was allowed to occur, and that counts’.

MCME 2 said:

‘Our number as public representatives is very limited, but we still represent the public. The people elected us officially, and that would not have happened without the establishment of the municipal council’.

However, interviewees also believe that the current municipal council has not yet fully solved the problem of how to ensure needed participation in the planning and management of development in Jeddah. They argued that the municipal council alone only includes publicly elected and appointed members; the urban planning and development process, however, requires participation from many other urban actors not included in the council. This point has been made mainly by local academics and senior planners. For example, ACD 1 said:

‘The municipal council opened up a chance to a limited public to participate in the [urban planning and development] process, but the participation of many other urban actors – such as other local agencies, nongovernmental agencies, land developers, and investors from the private sector – are important for the process, but were not included’.

SP 1 said:

‘The municipal council members only represent the public, but the participation of other local agencies in the development process is important’.

6.4.1.3 Centralisation

Participants believed that centralisation is still an issue even after the establishment of the municipal council. They argued that the municipal council only creates a kind of local level public voice that did not previously exist. Interviewees from all three groups raised this point (see Table 6.2). For example, ACD 2 said:

‘The municipal council adds power to the local level’s voice. The public for the first time has their representative making points about projects and issues in the city. This influenced many of the central ministries decisions’.

Also MCMA 3 said:

‘The municipal council adds some weight to local level arguments with the central government’.

Yet the municipal council’s effect on the problem of centralisation is very limited, in the view of all our groups, since the establishment of the municipal council did not change the hierarchical layout of the decision-making process, which still invests most power at the national level. The municipal council has a very limited role in this, the most important aspect of planning. The senior municipality planners and local academics were the participants who were most interested in this theme. For example, SP 5 said:

‘The municipal council’s establishment did not solve the issue of centralisation. The government structure is still the same and the decision-making process is still not influenced by the municipal council. The municipal council cannot make decisions; they suggest and request but the final decision is still not in the council hands’.

Also, ACD 3 said:

‘The municipal council role is very limited in the decision-making process. Its establishment did not change the government administrative structure, and projects still need to be approved by the central ministry’.

6.4.1.4 Comprehensiveness

Our participants all saw the establishment of the municipal council as a sign that the level of comprehensiveness in the urban planning and development process is being expanded, which means that many of the social and environmental issues that had been neglected in creating and implementing development projects are now at least given some notice. This point was raised by all three groups (see Table 6.2). For example, MCMA 4 said:

‘The municipal council establishment raised the importance of social and environmental issues in Jeddah’.

The council channelled the intention of the municipality in many cases, such as the zoo, the rubbish dumpsite, the lack of sewage drainage, “bohairat almisk” and many other projects and cases. This level of attention to environmental and social cases was not as high as it is now with the municipal council.

On the other hand, the interviewees argued that the municipal council has only limited influence on the issue of comprehensiveness, because of its limited connection with other local agencies responsible for social and environmental issues in Jeddah. This

is a point raised mainly by municipal council members and local academics. For example, MCME 1 said:

‘Our limited direct connection to other local agencies than the municipality makes our influences on many social and environmental issues in the city very limited. We cannot directly contact agencies responsible about health or education’.

Also, ACD 3 said:

‘The municipal council raised the level of attention to many social and environmental cases that were not given enough consideration before. However, the municipal council does not have a direct link to other local agencies that would be involved in these cases, and this does not solve the problem of many social and environmental cases properly’.

6.4.1.5 Continuity and flexibility

Interviewees took a positive view of the way that the municipal council has influenced the continuity and flexibility of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah (see Table 6.2). Their articulation of the theme can be summarised in the following points:

A. Projects’ feedback

Participants in the research believe that the municipal council created a forum that allowed for feedback from stakeholders to the announced projects. The forum allows for posing questions to the municipality about the progress of various projects and pushes the council to meet deadlines, as well as creating institutional pressure to deliver projects to the required standards. This point was raised by all participants. For example, MCME 2 said:

‘The [Municipal Council] is taking a good role now in improving the flow of municipal projects and pushing to have them delivered on time. Before [the Municipal Council], the municipality’s progress was rarely questioned’.

SP 5 said:

‘The municipal council created a new working environment for the municipality’s projects. Now projects are flowing steadily through the council, and any delay or dereliction in quality is questioned. This is one of the positive changes from the establishment of the municipal council’.

B. Attention to new issues

The establishment of the municipal council created a public forum that positively influences the continuity and flexibility of the planning process in Jeddah, according to our interviewees. The council raises attention to new issues and problems in the city. The old top-down management style predetermined the workflow and thus provided no incentive to point out ongoing or future problems. The municipal council partly counters this dysfunctional management style by creating a way for stakeholder voices to be heard when any new urban problem or issue appears. The municipal council represents those voices. This point was noted by municipal council members and local academics. For example, MCMA 4 said:

‘Before the municipal council, if there was any new problem or urban issue in the city, it took ages to get the attention of officials to deal with it. Sometimes the problem got bigger and the situation became worse. This has been changed by the municipal council. Now we call regarding any new problem and can get the attention of officials to deal with it’.

ACD 1 said:

‘The municipal council succeeded in getting attention for many new urban issues. The members are contacting people and proving a public voice to city officials on anything that happened in the city. This was not the situation before the municipal council. Problems would take time to get to the attention of officials. The municipal council now

helps to continually raise new issues that need attention in the development process’.

C. Faster responses and actions

According to the view expressed by our interviewees from all the groups, the municipal council has succeeded in putting some pressure on officials to respond and act faster to solve urban problems. Participants believe that this made the urban planning and development process more flexible in dealing with urban issues. For example, MCMA 2 said:

‘The municipal council created some sort of pressure on officials to act faster to solve urban problems. This pressure was not available before the municipal council’s existence. Now officials have become more flexible in dealing with urgent matters that need faster actions’.

In addition, ACD 4 said:

‘The flexibility of officials to deal with new urban problems is much better. The municipal council pushes the municipality to respond faster to many new issues in the city. One good example of this is the rubbish dump fires’.

On the other hand, participants pointed out that the limited authority vested with the municipal council in comparison to other local agencies, and its limited role as a monitoring agency has prevented it from taking a more significant role in the decision-making process or a legislative role in the city to provide the capacity to respond to problems and sustain the implementation of solutions to old and new issues in the city. These points were emphasised by municipal council members and local academics. For example, MCMA 4 said:

‘The municipal council is a monitoring agency for the municipality’s progress. It cannot take action to solve a problem. We are only getting the officials’ attention, but solving the problem requires more than that’.

ACD 3 said:

‘Urban issues need the city’s continued attention. The municipal council has a very limited role in the decision-making process and does not have authority over important local agencies. To solve urban problems faster, the city needs an agency that can make decisions and has the authority over local agencies to implement these decisions on the ground’.

6.4.1.6 Funding and budgeting

The problem of funding and budgeting that vests too much fiscal power in the central government has been slightly improved through the political persuasion exercised by the municipal councils, according to participants from all three groups (see Table 6.2). One sign of this improvement is the fact that the council has put pressure on the municipality to fund local high-priority projects. Another sign is in its support of local agencies in their encounters with central ministries when asking for funding and budget approvals. This point was expressed, for instance, by MCME 1:

‘The municipal council gave some value to the municipality’s and local agencies’ requests for funding and budget approval from ministries’.

SP 4 said:

‘The establishment of the municipal council supported the municipality’s requests for a projects fund. Now the municipality’s requests have more value and get more attention from the ministry’.

Despite the political import of the Jeddah Municipal Council, interviewees were doubtful that the municipal council, as presently constituted, could help Jeddah much with its funding mechanism problem. They believe that the limits put on the

municipality's power to make decisions have limited as well the degree of positive influence that can be exercised by the municipal council. This point was noted by participants from all three interview groups. For example, SP 2 said:

'The problem of project fund approval still has not improved sufficiently, even after the establishment of the municipal council. The council plays a very limited role in the decision-making process, and can only support project fund requests. The establishment of the council did not change the funding mechanism; funds still need to be approved by the central ministry'.

Also, ACD 1 said:

'The role of the municipal council is very limited when it comes to fund and resource allocation. This limited role still leaves the decisions to the central government as to whether to approve and fund projects'.

6.4.1.7 Information

Interviewees concurred that the municipal council did not solve the problems associated with the dysfunctional flow of information that has plagued Jeddah's planning and development process, the origins of which have been alluded to above. In the beginning, the council was not given the capacity to collect the required data, according to interviewees. But with the establishment of the Jeddah Urban Observatory, which collects and processes information about the urban situation in Jeddah, interviewees claim that the municipality is now mostly able to provide the data needed to plan and manage urban development in the city. This point was mentioned by participants from all three groups (see Table 6.2). For example, SP 2 said:

'The availability of information now is much better. The information centre, the Jeddah Urban Observatory, now provides data about almost everything in the city. This leads to more reliable decision-making'.

Also, MCME 1 said:

‘In the beginning, the council tried to collect data to support our decisions, but we found that to be difficult, because we needed information about many things and our resources were limited. Now, with the establishment of the Jeddah Urban Observatory, the situation in the city has improved. Information is now available to help make and assess decisions’.

6.4.1.8 Conflicts of authority

In this area, participants believed that the after-effect of the establishment of the municipal council was to create new conflicts of authority in the chain of command that structures the urban planning and development process in Jeddah. They contended that because the council was established under the old 1975 regulations, its relationship with local agencies was initially unclear and this created a conflict of authority. In addition, many new agencies were established after the old 1975 regulations, which has created a situation in which they all share horizontal authority. Thus the municipal councils of Saudi’s cities have been put on a level of authority that may need some reconsideration in order to properly manage the urban planning and development process. All three groups noted this problem (see Table 6.2). For example, MCMA 5 said:

‘The Council (meaning the Municipal Council) has been established under the old regulations, issued in 1975. These old regulations are out of date now and the situation needs to be updated. Now our relationships with many local agencies are not clear and our level of authority does not allow us to do many things’.

SP added:

‘The regulation under which the municipal council was established is not clear and detailed enough to justify the responsibilities and role of the municipal council. In many cases, there was a misunderstanding of the authority given to the council members’.

Also, ACD 2 said:

‘The municipal council is a new agency and when a new element enters the system there are always some difficulties in adapting to it. Now the situation is unclear for both the municipal council members and the government officials. This has created a conflict of authority in the city. The situation needs some time and adjustments to adapt and clarify roles and authority’.

6.5 The post-council stage (the future)

After discussing the past and current situation of Jeddah in this phase of the interviews, the researcher focused on questions concerning the future of the planning process in Jeddah to discuss possible changes and improvements for the urban planning and development process. Participants in the interview were asked to answer the question: What do you think the urban planning and development process needs to improve in the future? And how?

Participants’ answers to this question are clustered and discussed under the themes below. As one can see in Table 6.2, all participants were interested in discussing possible improvements under three themes: coordination, participation, and centralisation. However, apart from the commonality of these three themes, each group showed interest in discussing other themes particular to it. For example, local academics were more interested in discussing improvements in the themes (1) continuity and flexibility, and (2) comprehensiveness. Municipality planners were more interested in discussing improvement to (1) funds and budgeting, and (2) resources. Municipality members showed more interest in discussing possible improvements in: (1) comprehensiveness, and (2) information.

6.5.1 Analysis (the future)

6.5.1.1 Coordination

All participants in the research indicate a need to improve coordination between urban agencies to improve the future performance of the urban planning and development process. Participants for the three groups interviewed in the research were not happy about the existing coordination between urban agencies in Jeddah. In fact, the theme of coordination is one of the themes participants talked most about in the interviews (see Table 6.2). Below is a summary of the main areas of improvement the participants raised in the interviews.

A. Reorganise/restructure the urban administrative framework

Participants from all groups involved in the research believe that the urban administrative framework needs to be reorganised to allow for better coordination between urban agencies. In fact, most participants, especially from the local senior municipality planners group (four out of five) and from the local academics (all), call for a restructure of the whole system.

Participants believe that the current arrangements create conflicts of authorities between urban agencies and make coordination between them in the urban planning and development process hard to achieve. Many points have been mentioned in the interviews about the weakness of the current urban administrative framework and possible improvements. For example, SP1 raised the point that the current framework puts almost

all the important urban and civil agencies on the same level and does not organise them in a hierarchical way to allow for better coordination between them. SP1 said:

‘The urban administrative framework needs to be restructured. The current setting puts urban agencies at the same level and creates an overlap between many agencies’ works, responsibilities and authority. When a mistake happens it is not clear who is to blame. The administrative framework needs to clarify responsibilities and hierarchical urban agencies in a way to let them better coordinate work between them’.

On the other hand, most local academics linked the quality of coordination needed between urban agencies in the urban planning and development process to the continual development and improvement of the urban administrative framework. They believe that the current setting is very old and does not allow urban agencies to coordinate work between them. Furthermore, some academics raise the arguments that the urban administrative framework always needs reconsideration and development from time to time to cope with the dynamic nature of the city. For example, ACD2 said:

‘Cities are very dynamic and always this dynamic nature needs a revisit to all urban development aspects, including the administrative framework. The current administrative framework is very old and did not witness major changes for a while now. I believe it is time to revisit it and develop it in a way to allow for better coordination between urban agencies’.

Also, participants raised the issue of local needs and the uniqueness of each Saudi city. They believe that each city has its local issues and priorities that should be reflected in its urban administrative framework. Participants argued that organisation and structuring of urban administration in almost all Saudi cities is the same. Participants argued that each city has its own economic, social and natural characteristics that create

different urban development priorities and needs which should be especially considered when setting up administrative frameworks. For example, SP3 said:

‘The urban administrative frameworks in Saudi cities are about the same. This totally ignores local differences between the cities. Each city has its own characteristics that direct the urban development process in the city and the urban administrative framework should reflect and consider this uniqueness to better coordinate and direct urban development in the right way’.

B. Create a mechanism to coordinate between all stockholders

Another important area participants in the research raise in the interviews is the need to create a mechanism for coordination between all the urban actors and the urban development process stockholders. Many participants from all the three groups involved in the research linked the weakness of coordination in the urban planning and development process not only to the coordination between urban governmental agencies but they linked it to the lack of coordination with many important non-government agencies and other urban actors in Jeddah. For example, MCME 3 said:

‘There is a need to improve coordination in Jeddah not only between governmental agencies but also with non-governmental agencies and many important urban actors in the city. Without coordination with non-governmental agencies the urban development process would not improve that much’.

Furthermore, participants in the research believe that the current setting for coordination, involving the Jeddah Governorate Council ‘Majlis Mohafazat Jeddah’ or the Makkah Province Council ‘Majlis Amart Makkah Almokaramah’ is insufficient. Participants believe that these councils’ coordination powers are very limited outside of

the government agencies. Also, they see that these councils' roles are little more than an occasional meeting between local urban agencies: the coordination in urban planning and development needs more than this. Further, participants argue that these councils do not have the necessary administrative authority and financial power to be effective coordinators. This point has been raised mainly by the municipality senior planners and local academics groups. For example, SP5 said:

'The only places where urban agencies' representatives can meet are in Majlis Almohafazah and Majlis Alamarah. However, the urban coordination roles these meetings provide are very limited. Many important non-governmental agencies are not included in these meetings. And also the coordination roles they play between governmental agencies are very limited, they do not have the authority and financial power needed to conduct such an effective coordination. Their coordination role mainly ends up with meetings to brief and update governmental agencies about the development projects they are working in'.

C. The coordination infrastructure

All three groups argued in the interviews that to improve urban planning and development coordination there is a need to improve the infrastructure for this coordination first. Many points were raised.

The first point is the need for improvements in the details of the urban plans and development projects in regard to schedules, responsibilities, budgeting, and roles. Participants who raised this point argue that improving these details in urban plans and development projects would provide the necessary infrastructure for coordination between urban actors to implement them successfully. Participants refer here to previous

urban plans and development projects where they see that the lack of such details made coordination very difficult. This point has been raised mainly by local academics and municipality senior planners' groups. For example, ACD4 said:

'Details about schedules, budgeting, and responsibilities should be more clear in the urban plans and development programs. The previous plans and programs failed to do so, and this made coordination between agencies to implement them very difficult and sometimes they were not implemented because of the unclarity about them. Consideration should be given to these details in future programs and plans to help better coordinate them and successfully implement them'.

Another point raised by participants is the need to improve communication protocols between urban agencies. They argue that the current protocols are not clear and too slow and believe that improving this would provide a necessary infrastructure to better coordinate the urban planning and development processes. This point has been mentioned in the interviews by many participants from all the three groups. For example, MCMA2 said:

'The communications between agencies are very slow. This makes responses to changes in the city and improvements take time. There is a need to improve communications' protocols between agencies to better coordinate between them and respond faster to changes on the ground'.

Also, ACD5 said on this point:

'Communications are a big part of coordination. Unfortunately, the communication protocols are unclear between local agencies. In fact, in some cases the municipality doesn't know who to communicate with in regard to the issue and how to communicate to him. This unclarity makes coordination difficult to follow up developments, programs, and projects or sometimes to solve an issue. There is a need to clarify and

improve communication protocols between local agencies to better coordinate development in the city’.

6.5.1.2 Participation

Participation was a major theme to emerge from the interviews. Even though the establishment of the municipal council introduced some kind of public participation in the urban planning and development process that was not available before, many participants believe that there is a need to increase and improve participation to improve the urban planning and development process in the future. This theme has been raised by all participants in the research, in fact, all participants raise this theme at least twice (see Table 6.2). Below is a summary of the main points discussed by participants in regard to this theme.

A. Increase participation

Interviewees argue that to improve the urban planning and development process there is a need to increase the level of participation. Participants believe that fourteen public representatives for the population of Jeddah of more than three million is very low and there is a need to increase this number. This point has been raised by all participants in the interviews. Further, of the current fourteen public representatives, only seven are elected. MCME 2 said:

‘The council includes 14 members, only 7 of them are elected. This number is very low in a city with more than 3 million people living in it. Future plans should consider increasing this number’.

Also, SP 4 said on this point:

‘The establishment of the municipal council brought a new level of public participation into the process. However, with the city population the number is very low and there should be considerable thought about increasing it in the future to benefit the process from this participation’.

Another point raised by interviewees and linked to the increase of public representatives is the number of districts the city is divided into. Participants in the research believe that the current geographical setting which divides the city into seven districts does not help the city in providing accurate representation of its social diversity. Participants believe that there is a need to divide the city into smaller districts that allows for an increase in the number of public representatives within the council, so more accurately reflecting the social structure of the city. This point has been raised by participants from all three groups. For example, ACD 3 said:

‘The city currently is divided into 7 districts, which result in 7 elected public representatives, but this geographical division does not reflect the urban social structure of the city. There is a need to divide the city into smaller districts that geographically better the city’s social variety’.

Finally, many participants in the research raise the importance of considering the involvement of females in the election. The argument was that almost half the population is female and excluding them from the election means that half the city population’s wishes and needs are not represented in the process. This point has been raised by participants from all the three groups. For example, MCMA 2 said on this point:

‘Females make up to half of the population and their involvement in the election process should be considered in the future to improve the public participation in the development process and cover all the society’s wishes in it’.

B. Increasing the variety of participation

The diversity of stakeholders was an issue discussed by interviewees. Many believe that current public involvement and participation in the urban planning and development process is very limited and does not reflect the range of urban actors in the city. The argument was, to improve the process there needs to be a way to involve all important urban actors in the urban development process, such as developers, non-governmental agencies, together with civil agencies. This point was mainly raised by the local academics and senior municipality planners’ groups. For example, SP 4 said:

‘The municipal council includes public representatives only and this is a negative influence. There should be a consideration to involve developers and many important civil and non-governmental agencies in the process to positively influence the process in the future’.

C. The participation scope

Participants in the research believe that to improve the urban planning and development process in Jeddah there is a need to not only increase public participation in the municipality’s work but also to involve the many other important urban agencies in the city as well. They see a need for the public to participate and be involved in the work of other urban agencies in other sectors, such as health, education, police, transportation, etc. This point has been raised by participants from all the three groups involved in the

research. For example, MCME 1 said:

‘The new public participation is limited to the municipal council and its work is limited to monitor Jeddah municipality only. There is a need to increase the right of the council to include many important urban agencies under its umbrella’.

D. Effective participation

Many interviewees raise the point that the influence of the public participation on the municipal council is limited to a monitoring role only. Participants argue that to improve the future urban planning and development process there is a need to allow for more public participation from the earlier stages of needs assessment, and goal formulating to the later stages of monitoring, evaluating and editing. To be effective, public participation is needed in many stages of the planning process, they argued. This point was raised mainly by local academics and senior municipality planners. For example, ACD 5 said:

‘The public participation is currently limited to the monitoring role and to improve the urban development process we need to consider increasing this role to allow for public involvement through all the stages of the process. Public involvement should not be limited only to the later stages of monitoring; it should be from the beginning all through to the end in a continual way’.

6.5.1.3 Decentralisation

Many participants see decentralisation as an important move towards a better urban planning and development process in Jeddah. They argue that over-centralisation in the current setting is negatively affecting the process and to improve this process there is a need for more local decision-making. All three groups spoke of this. However,

generally local academics and senior municipality planners were the more interested to speak about this theme (see Table 6.2). Below is a summary of the main points raised by participants in the research in this theme.

A. Local autonomy

Many participants believe that local involvement in the urban planning and development process needs to be increased to reflect the local wishes. Mainly, interviewees see a need to increase local power in the decision-making process, especially in the goal-setting stages. Also, many participants raise the importance of increasing local involvement in project prioritisation. This point has been raised mainly by senior municipality planners and local academics. For example, ACD 1 said:

‘Even though the government is shifting to a more decentralised system, the current situation is still over-centralised. There is a need to consider increasing the local power level in the decision-making process to reflect local wishes and needs in the development process. The local level should have more involvement in decisions regarding development goals and development projects priorities’.

Local control over the funding and budgeting issues was raised. This point was made mainly by senior municipality planners. For example, SP 4 said:

‘Funding and budgeting control and drive the development process. Currently, the local level does have very limited control on financial issues, therefore the local level does not steer the process and this affects its influence on the process. To improve the development process more control should be within the local level over financial issues’.

B. Institutional structure

Many participants believe that urban institutions are very strongly linked to the central government, but at the local level the links between them are very weak. All three groups involved in the research made this point. For example, SP 1 said:

‘Urban institutions structure is very centralised and the link between these institutions at the local level is very poor. This negatively affects the urban development process and to improve this process serious consideration should be given to this point’.

Another point raised by participants in regard to the urban institutional structure is the so-called ‘silo-management mentality’. As each sector is strongly linked to the central government, where most of the control over decisions lies, cross-sectoral decision-making at the local level is undermined. This should be changed according to local academics and senior planners. For example, ACD 5 said:

‘The structure of the urban institutions and agencies is managed in a sectoral way, where most of these institutions and agencies are strongly linked in the national level. This way of urban management negatively impacts the development process by making the centre of the decision-making process very far from the local level and to improve the urban development process there is a need to better link urban institutions in and to the local level’.

6.5.1.4 Continuity and flexibility

To improve the planning process participants spoke of continuity and flexibility. Many participants discussed the importance of conducting a development process allowing for unexpected change. Local academics were the most interested in discussing this (see Table 6.2).

A. Individualisation

The current system, it was said, was heavily dependent on individuals: when they are available the process runs smoothly; when they leave, everything stopped. Participants believe that to improve the system, it should be built on an institutional basis, not around individuals. This point was raised mainly by local academics. For example ACD 1 said:

‘The system is usually affected by individuals and this is wrong. In many cases many development projects and plans on which a lot of time and millions are spent on them stopped or changed when individuals or officials behind them moved or changed. This affects the continuity and progress of the urban development process. To improve this we should reduce the influence of individuals and create the system on an institutional base. When institutions come behind a plan or a development movement or project the chances to complete them are much higher and they won’t stop if anyone is moved’.

On the other hand, many said that when a proposal represents the aims and wishes of everyone rather than an individual, everyone would work to ensure it continues even if there is a change in personnel. On this point MCMA 4 said:

‘To guarantee the continuity of the development process this process should be built on a system that represent everyone’s wishes and needs, not just officials. By this way everyone will work to make sure that the system is working and support it’.

B. The project base approach

To improve the planning process in Jeddah there needs to be a change in the way development projects are managed in the city, according to some. Participants who raised this point see a need to develop a working mechanism that manages development in a more coherent and harmonious manner, one that the bigger more complete picture of development has considered, not the project-based approach, as is dominant now. This approach would contribute to the continuity of the urban planning and development process. For example, ACD 3 said on this point:

‘The project-based approach to development affects the continuity of the development process. To improve the continuity of the process development approach it should be coherent and work within the complete picture of the development’.

C. Maintaining, evaluating, and updating the mechanism

Many interviewees believed that there is a need to find a mechanism to continually update what has been achieved and monitor and evaluate the impact of these achievements. They argued that the current system does not provide this mechanism which is important to ensure the continuity of the urban and development process. For example, MCMA 1 said:

‘To improve the continuity of the urban development process there is a need to develop a way to continually monitor and evaluate the existing situation and the impact of new developments. This would contribute to improve the urban development process and correct it when needed’.

D. Modify the decision-making system

Many participants argue that to improve the planning process some serious consideration should be taken to improve the decision-making system itself. Participants who raised this point highlighted the importance of improving the speed of this process in regard to communications between related agencies and the approval of decisions made.

For example, SP 3 said:

‘The decision-making system is a very important part of the development process and improving it is a critical issue to improve the whole process. There is a need to improve communications between governmental agencies and reduce the approval time for decisions. Improving this would positively influence the urban planning and development process. The current system performance is delaying everything’.

Also, many participants raised the issue of improving the flexibility of the decision-making system to better respond to changes happening in the city. Participants who raised this point highlighted the speed of change and thus the equal need to speed up decision-making protocols. For example, ACD 4 said:

‘The decision-making system is too slow and not flexible. Improving the system’s flexibility to change when needed would improve the performance of the urban development process’.

6.5.1.5. Funds and budgeting

Participants raised many points in the interviews under the theme of funding and budgeting, believing that improvement in this area is essential for the improvement of the planning process. Senior municipality planners were the most interested group in this theme (see Table 6.2).

A. Budgeting mechanism/fund allocation

Participants believe that to improve the planning process in Jeddah there is a need to create a budgeting mechanism that helps and supports collaborative work. The argument here was that most of the development programs require collaborative work from many agencies to be effectively implemented. Funding and budgeting within the current sectoral mechanism from the central government is not helping this. Funding and budget mechanisms should align with the city's development process, so enabling local urban agencies to better manage urban development projects. This point was mainly raised by senior municipal planners. For example, SP 2 said:

‘Many urban problems and development programs need many urban agencies to work together to achieve them. The way the funds for these projects are distributed from the central government now is making this difficult. One of the things needing to be considered to improve the urban development process in the future is changing this and finding a development budget for the city that allows many urban agencies to work together’.

B. Local perspective

Another important point raised in the interviews was the need for local input into funding and budgeting as its lack detrimentally affects the planning process. Participants firstly argued that funding allocations spent on urban development projects should be taken from a local perspective, based on local needs and priorities. This point was commented on by participants from the three groups. For example, MCMA 3 said:

‘Budgets should be allocated based on local needs and priorities for development projects. This is a critical point to improve the urban development process in Jeddah’.

Participants also raised the importance of finding a mechanism to generate local revenue. They argued that the current unified mechanism available for all Saudi cities does not sufficiently consider the differences between these cities. Each city should find a mechanism that best suits its local characteristics to generate local revenue. This point was made by senior municipality planners and the municipal council members. For example, SP 4 said:

‘Jeddah does have unique characteristics from other Saudi cities that would allow the city to generate local revenue from many local resources. The problem is that all Saudi cities apply almost the same mechanism approved by the central government to generate revenue. To improve the urban planning and development process each city, including Jeddah, needs to have its own local revenue-generating mechanism that best uses its social, economical and geographical characteristics’.

6.5.1.6 Human resources

The shortage of urban planners and their lack of experience were raised by senior municipal planners (see Table 6.2). Even though many universities in Saudi Arabia are teaching courses related to this area, the argument here is that graduates still have very limited experience and all the important projects are currently managed by foreigners.

A. Local professional development

Participants who raise this point believe that local professional development is very important: local experts need to be able to run, maintain and develop the urban development process. They argue that this would not only improve the urban

development process but would ensure that the process continues uninterrupted even after any foreign experts' work is completed. For example, SP2 said of this point:

'Development of local professionals is very important to the future of the urban planning and development process. We need to consider developing local expertise to guarantee the development and continuity of the process after foreign experts leave. We need to develop local professionals who would be able to run and maintain the future of the city'.

B. More local involvement

Participants also believe that it is very important to increase the involvement of locals. Participants here argued that this would ensure local characteristics and needs and wishes would be better respected in the urban development process. They also believe that this could be done gradually by letting more locals work with foreign professionals and managers. For example, SP1 said in this point:

'It is very important now to increase the involvement of locals in the process. This would improve the future of the process by reflecting the local needs and wishes into it and improve its future performance'.

6.5.1.7 Information

Many participants raised the argument that information is very important for the future of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah. They believe that developing urban information resources and quality would improve the future planning for Jeddah. This theme has been raised in the interview by participants from all the three groups (see Table 6.2). Below is a summary of the main points discussed in the interviews in this theme.

A. Jeddah Urban Observatory

The recent establishment of Jeddah Urban Observatory was raised. Interviewees argued that this centre helped solve a big part of the past problem of lack of information facing government officials and planners. This point was raised by all three groups. For example, SP2 said:

‘The establishment of Jeddah Urban Observatory solved a big part of the lack of information in the past and it would improve the urban planning process in the future in Jeddah’.

B. Flow of information

Even with the establishment of Jeddah Urban Observatory many participants were concerned about keeping the information for all the important urban agencies in Jeddah up to date and in a proper format, not just that from the Urban Observatory alone. Participants who raise this point argue that information collection is a collaborative work process and local urban agencies should all recognise this and comply. This point has been raised by participants from all the three groups. For example, ACD 4 said:

‘To improve the urban planning and development process there is a need to improve information collection. Local urban agencies should work together to collect information and make it available. It is not the responsibility of the municipality alone and the urban observatory can not do it alone. Urban agencies need to collect and share information to better plan the city’.

C. Accessibility

Another point raised in the interview is that of information accessibility. Participants believe that to improve the future of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah, urban agencies should share information between one another and make this information available to others. Participants also argue here that non-governmental urban actors such as developers and investors should be able to access information in certain circumstances. This point has been raised by participants from the three groups. For example, ACD 3 said on this point:

‘Access to information is very important. In the past, information was not available and when it was available it was not accessible. Researchers who were interested in urban research in many cases could not access information to conduct research. It is very important for the future of the urban development process that urban agencies and individuals could access information’.

6.5.1.8 Comprehensiveness

Consideration of social and environmental issues alongside physical and economic issues in the urban planning and development process was one of the themes raised in the interviews by all three groups. Municipal senior planners, however, were less interested in this theme (only two participants from this group mentioned the theme (see Table 6.2).

A. Comprehensiveness in urban plans and development programs and projects

Participants in the research raised the point that urban plans and development projects and programs should consider social and environmental issues. They argued previous and current plans and projects focus mainly on physical and economic issues. This point has been raised by participants from all three groups. For example, SP 2 said:

‘Very little attention is given to environmental and social issues in the urban plans and projects. To improve the process in the future more attention to environmental and social issues should be given’.

B. Urban development projects and programs criteria

Interviewees argued that to improve the urban development process, urban development projects and programs, attention to social and environmental issues in the future development projects and programs was necessary. This point has been raised mainly by participants from the local academic group. For example, ACD 4 said:

‘To improve the comprehensiveness of the urban development process in the future, urban development projects criteria should be improved. The criteria would work to ensure the minimum standards for environmental and social issues were considered in the urban projects’.

C. Monitoring agency

Interviewees also raised the point that any local coordinating agency should have the authority and responsibility to monitor and question urban development projects and programs for environmental and social issues.

6.6 Municipal Council internal affairs

In the first round of interviews, time was allocated to discussing municipal council development with the participants. They were asked: ‘What do you think about the current municipal council?’ and ‘How, if at all, might it be improved?’ The answers of the participants are organised by theme.

6.6.1 The Municipal Council Act and Regulations

A. Updating the Act

Participants in the research believe that establishing the municipal council based on an Act written in 1975 is a negative point. Participants argue that this Act is out of date; many changes and developments have occurred since 1975. All participants from all the three groups raised this point in the interviews. For example, ACD 2 said:

‘The municipal council established in 2005 is based on a 1975 Act and this makes a lot of things not work. Since 1975, many agencies have been established and developed and many things changed ... to enable the council to work we need to update the Act to adapt these changes’.

B. Internal arrangements

Participants believe that the Municipal Council Act does not clarify many important aspects and necessary internal arrangements between the council’s members, nor their rights and authority, nor the mechanisms of internal committees’ work. This point was mainly raised by all municipal council members (please see Table 6.3). For example MCME 2 said:

‘The Municipal Council Act missed many important issues and this affects the work of the members in the council. For example, the Act does not clarify enough the internal regulation in regard to the members’ relationship and authority. Also the Act is very limited in regard to internal committees’ arrangements’.

C. External relationships

Participants said the Act only covers the relationship between the council and the municipality, putting the council under the municipality administrative authority. They said that the Act does not clarify this relationship with the municipality sufficiently to enable the council to work effectively. They also highlighted the importance of relationships with other urban agencies outside of the municipality’s authority. This point was raised by participants from all the three groups. For example, SP 4 said:

‘The Municipal Council Act only arranges the relationship between the council and the municipality and in a limited way. A lot of important arrangements were not covered in the Act. To improve the work of the council and make it more effective we need to seriously consider reviewing the Municipal Council Act and develop it to better arrange the relationship with the municipality and other important urban agencies’.

6.6.2 Participating in the decision-making process

A. Decision-making

Many participants see the current municipal council’s role as being very limited in regard to decision-making and believe that it does not positively influence the decision-making process. Participants noted that the municipal council has a monitoring role where its role is very limited to just the study and review of issues and cases, putting forward recommendations only. They believe to improve the municipal council’s role it

needs to take a more effective role in making decisions. This point has been raised in all three groups involved (see Table 6.3). For example, ACD 1 said:

‘The current municipal council role is very limited to make recommendations. It does not take any decision-making role and also its work is limited to monitor the municipality. There is a need to give the municipal council a role to make decisions to positively influence the process’.

B. Independence

Many participants believe that the municipal council needs more independence in its work to better contribute in the decision-making process. Participants argued that the current arrangements that link the council’s work and role strongly to the municipality, effectively places the council under the municipality’s umbrella, and does not give the council and its members the required independence to positively contribute in the decision-making process. Participants from all the three groups spoke of this (Table 6.3). For example, MCMA 3 said:

‘The council is tied to the municipality. We need some independence from the municipality to be better involved in the decision-making process’.

6.6.3 Authority

A. Authority level

Many interviewees believe that limiting the authority of the municipal council to monitoring the municipality does not give the council and its members the authority they need to work effectively. Participants argue that the range of authority to the council and its members should be changed to allow for more than the monitoring role and to link up

with agencies outside of the municipality. Individuals in all the three groups (Table 6.3) spoke of this, for example, SP 2 said:

‘The council’s authority is mainly limited to monitor the municipality. This should be considered and changed to enable the council to do more than the monitoring role and to include many other urban agencies with the municipality’.

6.6.4 Human resources

A. Members

Many participants see the number of members in the council as being insufficient and link this to the fact that the council’s members’ work is part time. They argued that this affects the performance of the members and also affects the work of the committees in the council by making each member work on many committees, resulting in a lack of concentration. Municipal council members made this point, for example, MCME 1 said:

‘The members’ numbers are very low and all of us are working part time in the council. This affects our work progress in flowing and studying issues and cases. Also, with this very limited number of members, each member is working on several committees which creates a lot of confusion and overlap between them, at least this is happening for me’.

B. Council staff

Participants believe that the council’s staff is very limited as regards numbers and professional background and this affects the council’s performance. The argument here is that council is not able to study cases and make correct recommendations with their very

limited staff. This point has been raised mainly by participants from the municipal council members (see Table 6.3). For example, MCMA 1 said:

‘We don’t have enough staff in the council to help us in our work. This really affects our progress and the council’.

6.6.5 Funding

A. Independent budget

Participants said that the council budget is linked to the municipality and this affects the council’s work negatively. They argued that the council needs an independent fund and budget to fund its own studies and programs when needed. This point was made mainly by participants from the municipal council members and municipality senior planners’ groups (see Table 6.3). For example, MCMA 2 said:

‘In many cases we need to do a special study on the case or to hire a consultant to help us understand the case and make up our minds about it, but we do not have an independent budget sufficient for this. The council budget is linked to the municipality. We need an independent budget to fund studies and programs and many other things that would help us in our work and to improve it’.

B. Members’ salaries

Participants spoke of low salaries and how they are insufficient to help the council members concentrate on the council’s work. They argued that with these low salaries, members always need to give some attention to private work to secure enough income. They believe the members’ salaries need to be increased to allow members to focus and spare more time to council duties. This point was made mainly by participants from the municipal council members’ group (see Table 6.3). For example, MCME 1 said:

‘Our salaries in the council are very low. This forces us to give some attention to our private jobs to earn enough income. With a reasonable salary one can give more time to the municipal council work’.

6.7 Priorities

As explained earlier, the participants in the research participated in two interviews. The first was to discuss the problems of past urban planning and the Saudi Arabian development processes more generally; to see what possible input the new municipal council might have on the system; and finally to discuss possible future improvements in urban planning in Jeddah. In the second interview, participants were asked first to confirm the themes drawn out by the author from the first interview; second, to rank these themes with regard to their priority over time: past, current and future.

Table 6.3 represents a quantitative summary of how each group ranked the themes after the researcher discussed each theme with each participant. The technique used depends on using numbers to represent a theme's weight, where the weight given to a theme is based on rank, the theme ranked first given the maximum weight and the theme ranked last, the minimum weight. The maximum weight possible was 9 for themes related to past times (there being nine themes), and 8 for the present and future (see rank weight, Table 6.4).

Participant		Themes																									
		Past										Currant (Planning process)							Future								
		Coordination	Participation	Centralization	Continuity and Flexibility	Fund and Budgeting	Resources	Information	Comprehensiveness	High Urbanization Rate	Coordination	Participation	Centralization	Continuity and Flexibility	Fund and Budgeting	Comprehensiveness	Information	Conflict of authority	Coordination	Participation	Centralization	Continuity and Flexibility	Fund and Budgeting	Information	Comprehensiveness	Conflict of authority	
Academics	ACD1	1	4	3	5	8	9	7	6	2	1	3	2	5	7	6	8	4	1	3	2	4	8	7	5	6	
	ACD2	1	4	2	5	9	7	8	6	3	1	2	3	5	8	7	6	4	1	2	3	4	5	8	6	7	
	ACD3	1	2	4	6	7	8	9	5	3	1	3	2	5	6	7	8	4	1	3	2	5	6	8	4	7	
	ACD4	2	3	4	7	8	6	9	5	1	1	2	3	5	7	6	8	4	1	2	3	4	5	8	6	7	
	ACD5	2	1	4	5	7	6	9	8	3	2	1	4	6	7	5	8	3	2	1	3	5	6	8	4	7	
Theme wight		43	35	33	22	11	14	8	20	38	39	34	31	23	10	14	7	26	39	34	32	23	15	6	20	11	
Theme Rank according to wight		1	3	4	5	8	7	9	6	2	1	2	3	5	7	6	8	4	1	2	3	4	6	8	5	7	
Planner	SP1	2	5	3	8	6	4	7	9	1	3	4	2	8	6	5	7	1	1	5	2	3	4	8	6	7	
	SP2	3	4	2	7	6	5	8	9	1	3	5	1	6	4	7	8	2	2	4	1	5	3	8	6	7	
	SP3	2	7	1	9	5	4	6	8	3	1	6	2	7	4	8	5	3	1	3	2	8	4	7	5	6	
	SP4	3	7	1	8	4	5	6	9	2	2	5	1	7	6	8	4	3	2	4	1	5	3	8	6	7	
	SP5	3	8	2	7	5	4	6	9	1	3	7	2	6	4	8	5	1	2	5	1	4	3	8	6	7	
Theme wight		37	19	41	11	24	28	17	6	42	33	18	37	11	21	9	15	35	37	24	38	20	28	6	16	11	
Theme Rank according to wight		3	6	2	8	5	4	7	9	1	3	5	1	7	4	8	6	2	2	4	1	5	3	8	6	7	
MCM	Appointed	MCMA1	2	1	3	4	8	9	7	5	6	4	1	2	5	7	6	8	3	4	2	1	5	6	8	7	3
		MCMA2	3	2	1	5	6	9	8	4	7	4	2	1	6	8	5	7	3	6	3	1	4	5	8	7	2
		MCMA3	3	1	2	4	7	8	6	5	9	2	1	3	5	7	6	8	4	4	1	2	5	6	8	7	3
		MCMA4	3	1	3	5	4	9	8	6	7	4	3	1	5	7	6	8	2	5	3	1	4	6	7	8	2
	Elected	MCME1	3	1	2	6	5	8	7	4	9	5	1	2	4	6	7	8	3	4	3	1	7	5	8	6	2
		MCME2	4	2	1	6	5	7	8	7	9	4	1	3	5	7	6	8	2	4	2	1	6	6	8	8	3
		MCME3	3	1	2	5	4	7	8	6	7	3	2	4	5	6	8	7	1	5	1	2	4	6	8	7	3
Theme wight		49	61	56	35	31	13	18	33	16	37	52	47	28	15	19	9	45	31	48	46	28	23	8	13	45	
Theme Rank according to wight		3	1	2	4	6	9	7	5	8	4	1	2	5	7	6	8	3	4	1	2	5	6	8	7	3	

Table 6.3: themes ranking

Stage	Rank								
	1st	2dn	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th
Past	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Currant	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	N/A
Future	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	N/A

Table 6.4: ranking's weight

6.7.1 The past

The local academics ranked the theme ‘coordination’ as the first and ‘high urbanisation’ second. Their argument was that the current system failed to coordinate work in a way that could lead to success given the speed of urban development at that time. They believed that with better coordination the system could respond more quickly and so result in better urban management. They put the themes ‘information’, ‘funds and budgeting’ and ‘resources’ in the lowest ranks, explaining that these themes were important but better coordination would minimise their negative effects (see Table 6.3).

On the other hand, senior municipality planners ranked ‘high urbanisation rate’ as the first theme, arguing that the high rate of development was making everything difficult and was the main cause for the failure of the urban planning and development process. The theme that came second for them was ‘over-centralisation’ which they believed from their experience delayed many important actions that would improve the system and its results. In the end, senior municipality planners put the themes ‘comprehensiveness’, ‘continuity and flexibility’ and ‘information’ in the lowest ranks, arguing that these were important themes but the high urbanisation rate and the over-centralisation did not allow enough consideration to be given to these themes (see Table 6.3).

Finally, the municipal council members ranked the theme ‘lack of participation’ first with regard to the failure of the past urban planning and development process. ‘Over-centralisation’ and ‘lack of coordination’ were ranked second and third (see Table 6.3).

6.7.2 *The present*

In regard to current problems of the urban planning and development process, the local academics ranked ‘coordination’ again as the first theme, and they argued that the changes made by establishing the new municipal council did not solve this problem as the current setting of the system does not provide the necessary coordination to improve the urban planning and development process. The local academics’ ranking of themes in regard to the current situation did not change much with the exception of the demotion of the ‘high urbanisation rate’ theme and the promotion of ‘conflict of authority’ which reflect their belief that the current changes do not make sufficient difference for them to change their opinions (see Table 6.3).

With the exception of the removal of the ‘high urbanisation rate’ from the list and the introduction of ‘conflict of authority’ to it, the senior municipality planners’ ranking of themes remained broadly the same, but note that the first rank was now over-centralisation and the last rank, comprehensiveness. These changes may reflect their belief that the establishment of the municipal council has had an impact on the planning system as explained earlier. It may be that they are more sensitive to changes as they experience them directly (see Table 6.3).

Finally, considering the changes in the list for the current situation, the municipal council members did not change their first ranked theme, participation. This insistence on the participation theme may reflect their belief, explained earlier, of the need for more participation from the public in the planning process for it to succeed. However, changes in the ranking of other themes also show their belief in the positive changes made in the

system since introducing the municipal council. The positive aspect many see in the introduction of the municipal council is that it opens the possibility for an official public involvement in the process.

6.7.3 The future

Local academics' rankings still show their insistence on improving coordination between urban agencies as the best way to improve the urban planning and development process. Rankings for the future do not show much difference from the ranking of the current situation (see Table 6.3).

The rankings of the senior municipality planners show some differences that they argue reflect the importance of setting out a bigger and so more comprehensive picture of the future. They highly rank themes that they believe will facilitate this view (see Table 6.3).

Finally, the municipal council members did not change their rankings significantly. They still showed their interest in having more participation to improve the planning system (see Table 6.3).

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter includes the second part of the empirical research, the interviews. Two rounds of semi-structured interviews were analysed here. The aims of these interviews were to check and confirm the findings of the critical review, and the

evaluation of the plans carried out in Chapter 3, and to investigate the recent changes in the urban governance system by the new municipal council. From the analysis of the interviews it was clear that the new municipal council did not solve the problems of the governance system in Jeddah. Participants in the research raised issues including problems in coordinating, participating, over-centralisation, comprehensiveness, flexibility, continuity, information, resources, funding and budgeting.

The current governance setting needs to be changed to address these issues. The next chapter will discuss and present some of the general ideas to improve the urban governance system in Jeddah.

Chapter 7: Discussion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This thesis is written by a planner with both practice and academic experience. It seeks to be theoretically informed and to be practical, to be respectful of Saudi Arabia's political culture and to be mindful of the need for social stability at a national level if plans and their planners are to be effective. It seeks to improve professional practice by not only considering the existing governance system within which planners work, but how these governance arrangements can be reorganised within the political system to generate a more effective planning regime designed to deliver more sustainable Saudi cities.

It is believed that the current urban governance arrangements and planning practices contribute to the poor living environment in Jeddah and are thus not effective. Despite the effort and investment of government to develop the city over the last 50 years, there is a shortage of urban services and infrastructure and squatter settlements abound.

In this thesis the issue of poor urban governance as discussed in Chapter 3 and confirmed in the findings of Chapter 6 has been linked to the ineffectiveness of the urban planning and development process. It has been argued that improved governance

arrangements would contribute to the greater effectiveness of the urban planning and development process and thus its outcomes.

The empirical research involved two main stages. In the first stage, a critical review of Jeddah's past plans, and their related documentation, was conducted. The results of this stage drew attention to the city's governance arrangements and management and it was concluded that there are failings. The critical review and evaluation of the plans show that:

- the traditional land use and transportation plans lacked comprehensiveness: they did not properly consider the array of social, economic and environmental issues that affect Jeddah's living conditions
- they had been prepared with limited participation from different stakeholders and the public at a local level
- they were prepared more on a project-by-project basis and not as part of a continual adaptive process of city development.

The second stage considered whether the recent changes in urban governance arrangements with the introduction of municipal councils would result in more effective planning in Jeddah, and if not, what further changes need to be made. Two rounds of interviews were conducted to determine the answers. Both the interview and review findings of the plans were analysed and discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 6. The interview analysis suggested the need for:

- a more adaptive urban planning and development process that continually monitors urban development, and quickly responds to emergent problems
- better coordination between local urban actors in this process
- more participation in this process from the public and all stakeholders
- a process with more local autonomy and less centralisation of decision-making
- a comprehensive process that considers the social, economic, and environmental implications of city building
- a process with a mechanism to collect and share information to monitor, evaluate, and edit plans
- a process that involves and develops local human resources.

This chapter presents the researcher's opinion and recommendations in addressing the findings explained above. The researcher discusses his opinion on improving urban planning effectiveness in Jeddah through suggestions to improve urban governance arrangements. These suggestions take the form of arrangements that, in the researcher's opinion, may solve the shortage in the research findings in Chapters 3 and 6 highlighted.

7.2 Restatement and refinement of the theoretical position

This thesis was written by a practising planner seeking to develop a more effective planning system in which Saudi planners could work. The work of Rakodi (2001) and Mandeli (2008) has guided the author to consider the governance arrangements within which Jeddah planners could more effectively work. However, even if we had a more effective urban governance structure and arrangements in which to plan,

we have to consider fluctuations in the global economy, matters of national security, and the fact that Saudi Arabia is a kingdom. These factors are beyond the terms of reference of planners, and this thesis. Nevertheless, one should be mindful of them. The researcher would like to highlight the theoretical position presented in his recommendations in this section. This clarification of the researcher's theoretical position has been foreshadowed earlier in the thesis, but more discussion of this position is placed **h**

Hambleton's (1986) review of competing theoretical perspectives of the policy frameworks in which planning systems operate provides a useful starting point for this thesis's concluding discussion. He highlighted three major perspectives. The first perspective is akin to procedural planning theory, one focusing mainly on how urban planning and management systems routinely operate with roots in general system theory (Beer 1966; Dror 1968). A major defender of this perspective is Faludi (1979), someone keen to have the planning profession develop its own theories on how best to practise, rather than always borrowing theories from the social science and design disciplines, theories usually strong on highlighting the various dilemmas of planning practice but offering few solutions. Faludi set out to develop idealised planning processes that would be more responsive to the evolving external environments in which planners worked and could be efficient and effective in their execution. This approach to planning practice has had lasting appeal for planning practitioners.

The second perspective centres on what Hambleton terms inter-organisation theory. This presents the activities of planners within the broader workings of

government, its various agencies and its dealings with private interests. In effect, it considers the effectiveness of the planning process to be closely tied to the effectiveness of a country's urban governance arrangements. According to Hambleton, this perspective is not dismissive of the first, rather it seeks to better appreciate the political, institutional and administrative arrangements within which planners work so as to improve the profession's effectiveness.

The third perspective, however, steps further back and considers the role of the state in capitalist society, one in which a wide range of economic, ideological and political influences need to be considered (Dunleavy, 1980); one in which the roles of government and its planners are generally compromised in favour of powerful private property interests.

Many academic social scientists in the 1970s and 1980s favoured this position but the gap between planning theory and practice widened to the point there was very little useful communication between the two branches of the profession (Hall 1988). Hambleton, on the other hand, seeks to not emphasise such points and posits a multi-theoretical approach that seeks to reconcile the different perspectives. He draws on Jenkins' (1978) general advice in the policy studies literature: '... any analysis of policy and policy process can only be achieved through the linking of a number of differing perspectives' (p. 21). He also draws from Benson's (1983) work and argues that reconciling these perspectives can be done through different levels of analysis. Benson's approach draws on the metaphor of depth, one that distinguishes a number of levels of

analysis starting with surface level analysis that can be linked to the procedural perspective level and plunging down to deep or fundamental structural analysis that can be linked to the social theory and state role perspective. In this manner, the daily work of the practising planners is not divorced from the work of the theorist, and potentially more fruitful disciplinary conversations can be had.

Adapting the theoretical arguments presented above, this thesis adopts the multi-theoretical perspective. The following discussion and recommendations recognise three levels of change:

- 1- surface/procedural change
- 2- middle level change
- 3- deep/structural change.

Procedural changes are concerned with the refinement or improvement of an existing planning system. Any changes proposed are within the system and could involve, for example, at the simplest level, amendments to existing planning schemes. Another would be more resourcing to enable planners to more effectively do their jobs. Another more substantive change would be clarification of which agency does what to reduce overlapping and waste. The introduction of municipal councils with an advisory capacity but no independent authority to make decisions as to how Jeddah is to be planned would fall into this category. This thesis considers such matters but seeks to go further in its desire to realise a more effective planning system. What could be called ‘middle level changes’ are considered to be reachable within the Saudi context, those involving urban governance arrangements. They are taken up below.

A further refinement to provide context to the proposed recommendations to changes in Jeddah's planning arrangements relates to what in planning systems' terms are called means and ends (Allmendinger 2009). This distinction also draws on Western planning theory from the 1970s and 1980s. Faludi (1987) argues that planners' prime purpose was to determine the most efficient and effective means to an end – such as socially inclusive cities or environmentally sustainable regions – and not the end itself, this being the primary concern of the wider public represented by its politicians. Most other planners, including McLoughlin (1969), thought this separation artificial: planners should be concerned with ends as well as means (Healey, McDougall and Thomas, 1982). Here, while the general interest has been planning for more sustainable cities, in this case Jeddah, the focus has been more on the means of achieving this with reference to both current and desirable governance arrangements, that is, inter-organisational arrangements. Concerns about the living conditions of Jeddah's population and the effects of the city's rapid growth on the natural environment were the starting point of this thesis, but the research emphasis has been exploring the means through the planning process to achieve them.

That all said, this thesis is written to be sensitive to the political culture of the country and respectful of it. As such, it does not consider deep level or structural changes.

To date, there is little serious work on Jeddah's urban governance system and its operation. This thesis is an attempt to add to it and perhaps Saudi Arabian cities more generally. While sensitive to the Saudi situation and its culture, values and political

situation, it is written with practising planners in mind, suggesting a governance framework that can facilitate a more effective planning and development process.

Procedural and middle level changes are what this thesis focuses on.

7.3 A Saudi perspective

As this thesis has argued, urban governance arrangements should reflect the characteristics of individual cities. Models cannot be taken from one place to another and simply be imposed. Most have Western origins and have been applied with varying degrees of success elsewhere.

One has to consider the differences between Western and Middle Eastern cities as regards, for example, their ability to adapt to rapid change: their adaptability or flexibility. In Saudi Arabia, the room for change in governance arrangements and structure is very limited and the ability to quickly adapt to change is less than most Western nations. Adapting institutional arrangements to accommodate change has to be gradual if it is to be effective within the local context.

The reader should understand that the recommendations and suggestions below should be read with consideration of the implementation environment in Saudi Arabia. Issues such as continuity, flexibility, and comprehensiveness have to be dealt with and understood from a local perspective. For example, when dealing with the term

'participation', local limitations to foster participation have to be considered. Discussion and recommendations in this research will work within accepted political norms.

7.4 Discussion

7.4.1 Introduction

The earlier literature review chapter stood back from the traditional approach to land use planning in developing countries focusing more on recent thinking about urban governance and the implications for more effective planning.

This section aims to take things forward in order to make the urban planning and development process in Jeddah more effective. The author introduces his own recommendations, recommendations drawn from the research findings.

7.4.2 Approaches to solutions

1- Procedural changes

The intention here is to argue for more than just minor technical adjustments or system fine tuning in seeking to improve the performance of the existing municipal council so that it can be more positively involved in the urban planning and development process. The current municipal council situation is limited to monitoring Jeddah's

municipal performance; it does not have enough authority to influence the decision-making process.

To use an analogy, the recommended changes to Jeddah's Municipal Council are more than just changing spark plugs in a car to enhance its performance; rather they are equivalent to taking out the engine to disassemble its parts, replace the worn elements and then re-assemble it. It will be the same car but will, hopefully, be more responsive and serviceable. The suggested improvements draw upon the findings of Chapter 6.

1- Update the municipal law and its regulations:

This would be done first by changing and updating the old municipal council law and its regulations to take the municipal council from under the shadow of the Jeddah municipality to have a more independent voice, one more likely to influence the city's decision-making process. Suggestions for this level of change may include:

- separating the municipal council from the municipality's administrative authority to make it an independent agency
- amending municipal council law and regulations so that it has the authority to communicate officially with all other local governmental agencies
- changing the municipal council law and regulations so the council can report to Jeddah's residents on, amongst other things, progress made with the city's development and its planning.

This would address many issues discussed in the analysis of the interviews with regard to updating municipal council law and relationships between the municipal council and Jeddah municipality. For example, see section (6.6.1) that discusses the need to update the Municipal Council Act and Regulations and also section (6.6.2, B) that talks about the need for more independence for the municipal council.

2- Develop the municipal council's human and financial resources

These may include:

- increasing the number of municipal council members to a more acceptable ratio with the city's population. The suggestion here is to increase the council's members to 28 members, fourteen to be elected members from fourteen electoral districts: this would allow members to better represent the diversity of Jeddah's society; and fourteen appointed members from the city's notable people, people who have some experience in the professions and administration
- providing it with a separate independent budget to give the councillors sufficient time to fully concentrate on their roles and to fund research studies by planners and others to allow the councillors to make better informed decisions
- supporting a technical and administrative team to help council members more efficiently run the council and undertake studies and

analyses required for informed decisions. The team may include administration staff, planners, economists and engineers.

The above suggestions may address some of the issues raised in the interviews' analysis in Chapter 6 in regard to municipal council internal affairs and the improvement of the urban planning and development process in Jeddah. For example, see section (6.6.4) that discusses the need to increase the members' numbers and to build up the municipal council resources. Also, see section (6.6.5) which shows the need for improved financial arrangements.

3- To have more than an advisory role

Being composed of elected people and appointed officials, the council could usefully take on more than an advisory role. Thus the council could:

- have oversight of urban development projects and programs, to be able question and advise responsible agencies where necessary and then to advise central government of their progress and the degree to which there is the desired level of coordination
- through its professional staff, develop performance indicators by which to measure progress or its lack
- set targets and monitor progress, this to be written up in annual reports for both central government and Jeddah's officials.

The above suggestions relate to the findings in sections (6.6.2, A) and (6.6.3).

4. Raising awareness of planning issues

This function would be more than just monitoring:

- Change the municipal council law and regulations so the council can better inform Jeddah's residents of what developments are proposed, what progress is being made and any divergence there might be from the plans.
- With such oversight responsibilities, alert residents, local agencies and central government to emergent problems. Water supply, sewerage disposal and poor coordination of land development have already been identified.
- Similarly, bring everyone's attention to possible future emergencies that require forward planning to combat: for example, what the social and environmental impacts of a collapse in oil exports would be or how to better cope with flash floods as occurred in 2009 and 2010.

The above suggestions relate to section (6.5.1.2) and the need for more local participation.

These recommendations form part of the recommendations in Table 7.1. They will be referred to later as Option 1b. Option 1a is the current governance and planning system. Figure 7.1 simplifies option 1a that explains the existing governance arrangements and summarises the points raised on the negative aspects of these

arrangements in earlier chapters. The figure shows how the existing arrangements miss the links at the local level and shows how local government authorities are strongly linked to the central administration. Also, the figure shows the limited role the Jeddah municipality and Majlis Al-Mohafazah play within the existing arrangements and how separate is the MC in the system from the other agencies Also, the figure presents the situation of the NGO that is not linked to the system and how the link with the private sector is very weak.

On the other hand, Figure 7.2 simplifies the suggestions explained above in option 1b, which is the researcher's first suggestion in reforming the existing arrangements. The figure shows how the MC would be placed in an administrative position above the municipality and would enable the MC to have links with all local government authorities, NGOs, and the private sector in Jeddah. This, in the researcher's opinion, may improve the MC's role and improve the participation of different stakeholders in local level decision-making. Also, the option may improve coordination between local level agencies.

The researcher in this section is aiming to present the low-level changes that he sees as having possibilities in terms of their ability to adapt and be implemented in the short term within the context of the existing administrative structure in Jeddah. In this first part of the options, the researcher deals with the existing situation from the point of view of fine-tuning the MC role to expand it by placing it on a higher level than the municipality. This would see it as an independent body with its own authority and

budget, and by increasing its members and support staff, this would enable it to be involved in new areas including the prioritization of projects and coordinating between local-level governmental agencies.

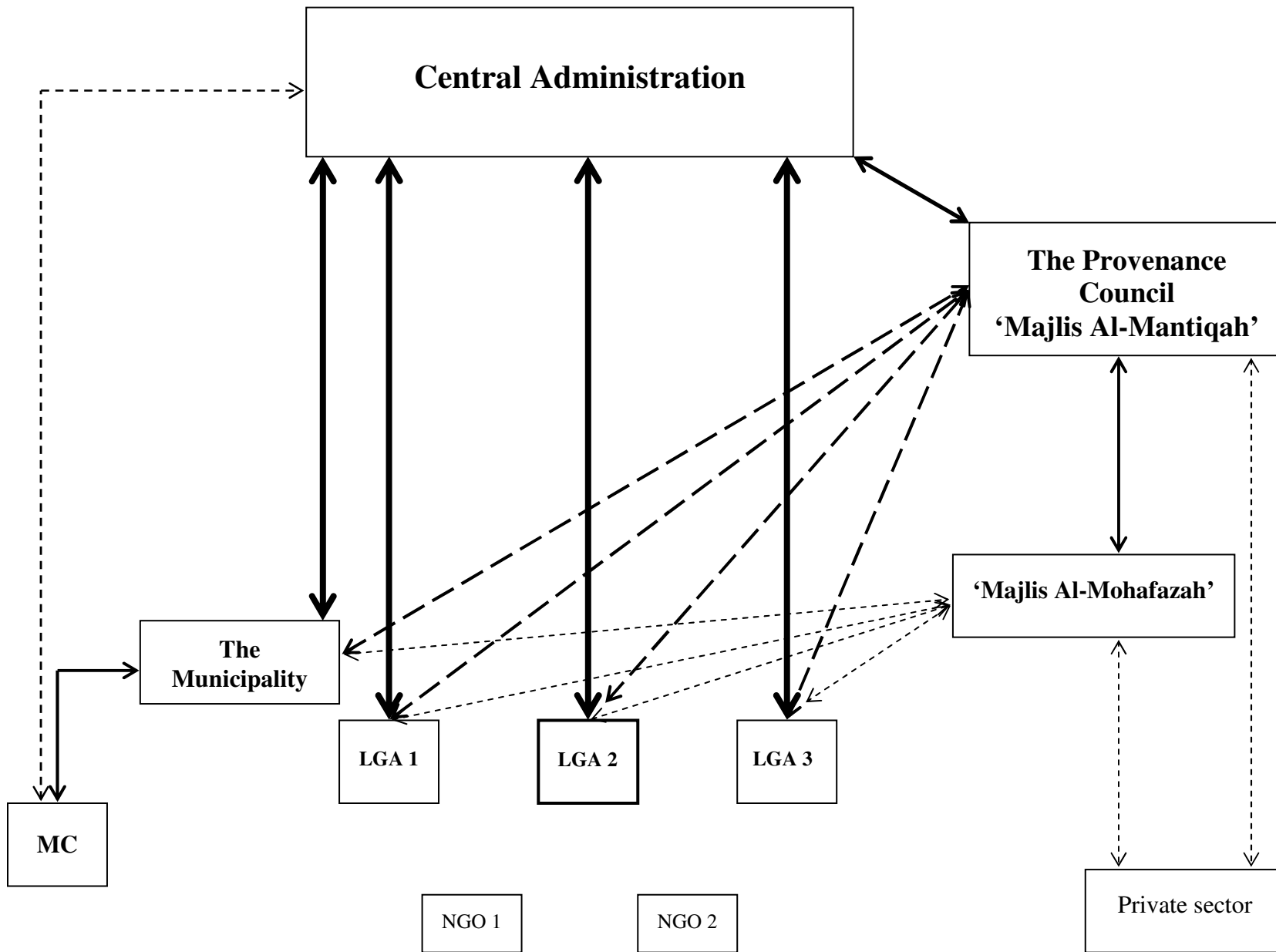


Figure 7.1: Diagram shows the existing governance arrangements (Option 1a)

MC = Municipal Council, LGA = Local Government Agency, NGO = Non-Governmental Organisation

———— Direct relationship - - - - Semi-direct relationship Indirect relationship

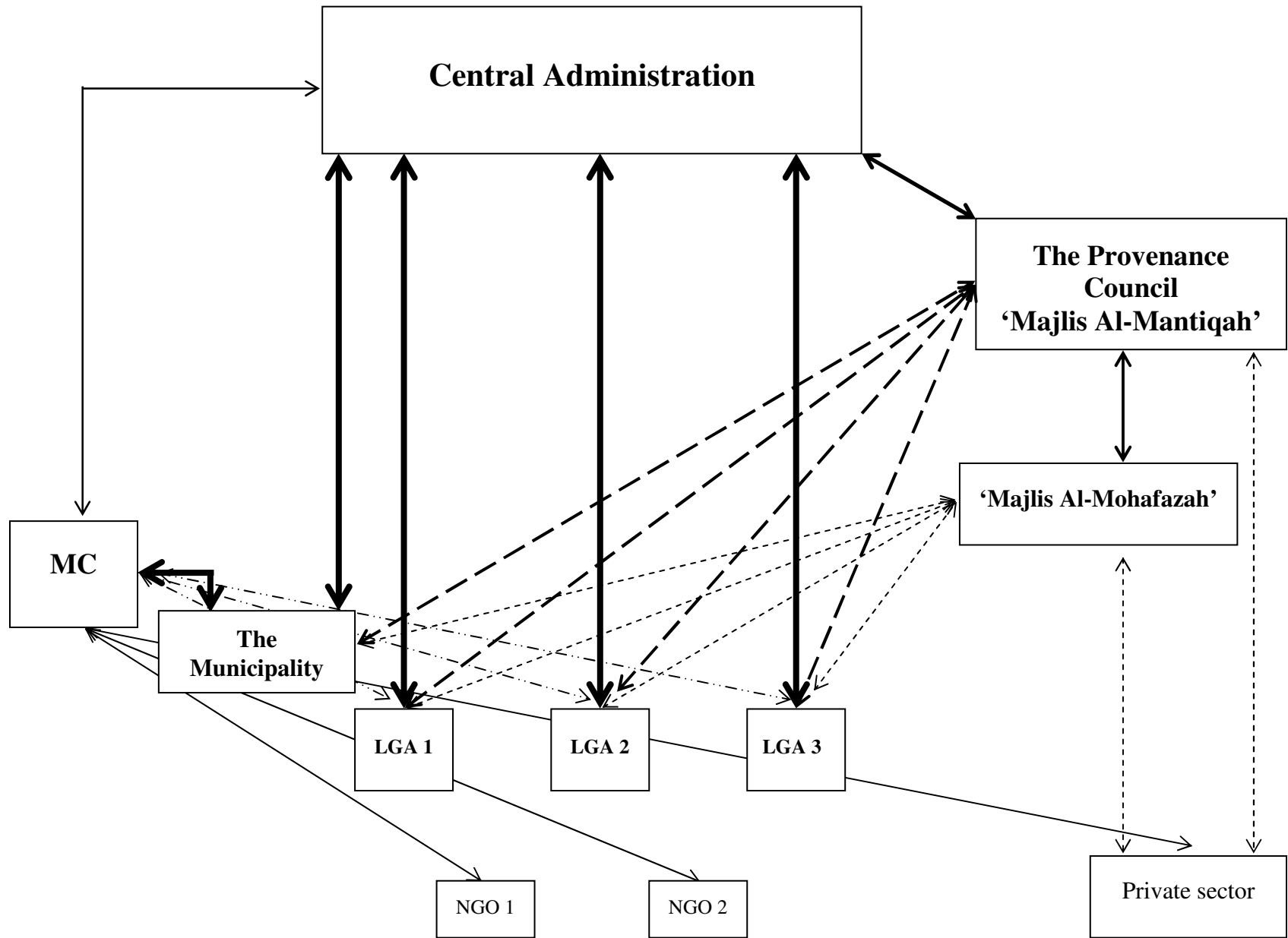


Figure 7.2: Diagram shows the procedural local governance rearrangements (Option 1b, the reformed MC)

MC = Municipal Council, LGA = Local Government Agency, NGO = Non-Governmental Organisation

————— Direct relationship - - - - - Semi-direct relationship · · · · · Indirect relationship
 · · · · · Ability to communicate

Conclusion: Many of the recommendations outlined above could be implemented in the short term but alone would not significantly improve the effectiveness of the current urban planning and development process as detailed in Chapter 6. Also, whilst reference has been made to professional expertise, information-sharing and participation, various themes discussed in Chapter 6, such as lack of continuity, flexibility, comprehensiveness, and coordination are not directly addressed above. Further, little has yet been said about non-governmental agencies and the private sector.

Some of the major proposed changes	Benefits/improvements in the themes discussed in Chapter 6
an independent agency	Conflict of authority
communicate officially with all local governmental agencies	Coordination
report to Jeddah's residents	Participation, information
increasing the municipal council members	Participation
a separate independent budget	Finance and budget
technical and administrative team	Human resources
involved in the future planning for Jeddah	Decentralisation, continuity, flexibility, comprehensiveness, participation
a watch guard to monitor all local governmental agencies' level of performance	Continuity and flexibility
have oversight of urban development projects and programs	Continuity, flexibility, comprehensiveness
inform Jeddah's residents of any divergence there might be from the plans	Participation
alert residents, local agencies and central government to emergent problems	Continuity and flexibility
bringing attention to possible emergencies that require forward planning to combat	Continuity and flexibility
make submissions over the city's future development budget	Decentralisation, finance and budget
make comments on ongoing local government agencies capital spending in the city	Decentralisation, finance and budget

Table 7.1: Possible benefits of the suggested changes in terms of the themes discussed in Chapter 6

2- Middle level changes

This level of change involves creating a new institute or agency within the local administrative setting that would be directly responsible for managing Jeddah's urban planning and development process. A permanent, metropolitan-wide authority could potentially bring a greater degree of coordination, participation of stakeholders, comprehensiveness, continuity and flexibility to Jeddah's planning and management.

The suggestion for a permanent, metropolitan-wide authority stems from issues discussed in Chapters 3 and 6. In addition to the research findings, the literature review made the point that governance arrangements need to be considered if spatial development plans are to be useful (Rakodi 2001).

Besides drawing on suggestions from the interviews, the formation of a metropolitan-wide authority would address some of the points made by some of the foreign consultants working in Jeddah, for example, such an authority could tackle the Wilson-Murrow International study's concern:

'Most of Jeddah's problems can only be properly and effectively solved through studies and long-range continuing planning' (Wilson-Murrow International 1966)

Also, Duncan, Chief Planner of RMJM, wrote of his team's experience in the project showing the need for such a process that, in the opinion of this research, it could be addressed by the formation of a metropolitan-wide planning authority:

‘... a better understanding of how planning should be seen as a process rather than a finite “one and for all” answer to city or regional growth and change’. (Duncan 1987 p. 108)

One might argue such an authority just adds another layer to the bureaucracy, leading to more paperwork and less efficiency. How it would relate to the reformed municipal council is another possible difficulty.

In this section we will first set out how the proposed board might operate. Options of how such a board might relate to a reformed municipal council are then considered (Figs 7.3 and 7.4). Option 2a involves cutting back the role of the reformed municipal council to fit within the board’s operation. Option 2b has the proposed board replacing the municipal council completely. Other options are possible. Further studies are required to properly set out the working relations of the board and the reformed municipal council. The focus of this section is to outline the proposed metropolitan agency’s authority, role, responsibilities and tasks. All the details below are suggestions only and need further studies and discussion, if implemented.

From the analysis in Chapter 6 it is concluded that Jeddah needs a metropolitan authority to plan for its future and manage its urban development. The existing ‘Majlis Al-Mohafaza’ (Jeddah Governorates’ Council) (see Chapter 5) could be overhauled to realise such a level of change. Having limited authority and power, it could be transformed into a metropolitan board that would manage the city’s development: a single metropolitan agency that has overview of all government agencies with planning

responsibilities, some authority to direct non-governmental agencies, with contacts in the private sector, and Jeddah's authoritative representative in plan-related decision-making.

Alternatively, the current municipal council could be more radically reformed to take on elements of the board's proposed role.

A metropolitan-wide planning board was a common historical way of re-organising urban governance arrangements in rapidly-growing Western cities: for example, Melbourne with its Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) of the early and mid-twentieth century (Dunstan 1984). While modelled on London's Board of Works, the MMBW was adapted to local political and geographical circumstances. But the basic idea behind each was the same: to provide a metropolitan-wide agency to manage some or all aspects of the urban development of a rapidly-developing metropolis, a similar situation to Jeddah's over the last forty years.

Nationally, there are cities in Saudi Arabia that have special urban governance settings such as Riyadh with its High Commission for the Development of Arriyadh established in 1974, while the new industrial cities of Al Jubail and Yanbu operate under the Royal Commission for Jubail and Yanbu (RCJY), established in 1975.

The High Commission for the Development of ArRiyadh, through laws and regulations from 1975, 1982 and 1983, has a role in planning Riyadh's urban development. One of its main responsibilities, clarified in 1982, is implementing then

coordinating basic infrastructure in the city. This benefits Riyadh relative to Jeddah. Through RCJY, Jubail and Yanbu have the same advantage. Jeddah too, it is argued, would benefit from a metropolitan agency to coordinate the planning and management of its urban development, involving all local stakeholders.

The proposal here is not too removed from the existing local administrative setting; it is both possible and realistic. The aim is to create a metropolitan board that works to general direction from the central government to plan and manage the urban development of Jeddah by defining local priorities and clarifying responsibilities through monitoring development, by adjusting plans when unexpected changes occur, and by micro-managing the city's budget.

The suggestions for this metropolitan board would include the following points:

A. General perspective:

- The board would be responsible for managing Jeddah's urban development and be the highest administrative local authority.
- The geographical administrative boundaries for the board would be the 'Mohafazah' boundaries.
- The board would be the legislative local agency for Jeddah.
- All other local agencies, including Jeddah municipality, would be service agencies.
- The board would monitor local agencies' performance.

- The board would be independent and its members would meet regularly.
- The proposed changes to the role of the Jeddah Municipal Council would have to be modified in light of the above.

The general suggestions above stem from the analysis of the interviews, for example, see section (6.5.1). Suggestions there were to restructure the local administration to better coordinate and resolve issues of conflict of authority, and to allow for more participation in a continual process managed by an overarching local authority.

Options 2a and 2b are just two possible modifications.

B. The board's structure:

- 1- The president of the board would be the Jeddah governor, 'Al Mohafiz'.
- 2- The board members would include:
 - representatives from all local governmental agencies
 - representatives from the private sector and developers from Jeddah's Chamber of Commerce and Industry
 - representatives from non-governmental agencies
 - public representatives could be all or just selected municipal council members. In the case of the board replacing the municipal council completely, there is a need to elect public representatives for board membership.

3- All board members would have the right to raise, discuss, and make decisions on urban local issues.

4- Internal committees would be established. The internal committees may include:

- the future planning committee
- the physical environment committee
- the economic committee
- the social committee
- the environmental committee
- the monitoring of projects committee.

The board would have the right to create internal committees when needed.

5- A team of administrators and technicians (planners, economists, and engineers) would support the board members in making decisions on the city development.

- This team would be an independent team serving only the board members.
- This supporting team would process and analyse data, prepare studies on special issues, monitor the city's development and help board members make decisions.
- The board has the right to hire or second experts when needed.

The above points address issues raised in section (6.5.1.2): the analysis of the interviews with regard to increasing the scope and variety of participation.

C. Responsibilities and authority:

1- Jeddah's future planning:

- The responsibility for plan-making, formerly Jeddah municipality's responsibility, would become the board's responsibility. Jeddah municipality within the new governance arrangements would be an urban services agency that provides municipal services. The board would be the agency responsible for the urban planning and development process, future city plans, and development programs and monitoring and editing these plans and programs. This includes urban services, such as water, electricity, and the sewerage system. The board would provide the necessary coordination, increased levels of participation, comprehensiveness, continuity and flexibility lacking in current urban governance arrangements as analysed in Chapter 6, see section (6.4). Also, see Table 7.2 that summarises how the board would address the issues discussed in Chapter 6.
- The board would be the local agency responsible for coordinating the implementation of development plans, projects and programs.
- It would assign tasks, responsibilities, and budgets to local urban agencies to achieve this.

- It would have the authority to monitor the implementation of plans and schedules and inform central government of progress.

The above points address issues raised in sections (6.4) and (6.5) of the analysis of the interviews.

2- City budget and resources:

- The city would have a sizeable development budget from the central government over which it has a significant degree of discretion.
- The board would be the local agency responsible for preparing the city development budget: both on an annual and a five-year financial plan basis.
- The board would receive, manage and run the city's annual budget. It would direct funds to urban local agencies.
- Each local agency would have a separate budget for internal spending on salaries and internal administration development.
- The board would have a separate budget from the city budget like other local agencies for internal spending.
- The board would have the authority to redirect the city budget and resources in the case of emergency.

The financial arrangements discussed above arose from the issues discussed in sections (6.5.1.5) and (6.4.1.6).

D. Development projects and programs:

- The board would be the only local agency responsible for making decisions as regards local development projects and program approvals.
- All urban development projects and programs would be sent from all local agencies to the board for approval.
- The board would advise central government regarding desired city budgets and development programs.
- On an annual basis, development projects and program schedules would be approved by the board.
- Following the agreed schedule, the board assigns responsibilities and tasks among local agencies to implement development projects and programs.
- The board, on an annual basis, reports to the central administration on development progress in the city, and seeks approval for projects for next year.
- The board's authority would include project and program prioritising, and coordinating and monitoring their implementation.
- Mega private development projects, for example, projects above 50 million SR or bigger than 30,000 m², would require the board's approval.

The points above address issues of coordination, decentralisation, funding, participation, and continuity and flexibility of the planning process, for example, see sections (6.5.1.1) to (6.5.1.5).

E. Monitoring and editing:

- The board will collect information to monitor the city development and conduct necessary urban studies.
- All unexpected and other urgent local urban issues would, if time allows, be discussed by the board and approval sought from central government for action.
- Immediate action on emergencies, such as floods and fires, would be the board's responsibility, and the chairman's responsibility if immediate decisions would be needed.
- There would be contingency funding made available by central government in such situations.
- The board could re-prioritise plans, programs, projects and resources to deal with urgent local urban issues.
- The board could create special committees to study, analyse and discuss urgent local urban issues and provide suggestions to the board members.

The suggestions above address the points relating to information, decentralisation, funding and budgeting, and flexibility addressed, for example, in sections (6.4) and (6.5).

F. Urban policies and city management

- Local urban agencies become agents to the board.
- The board is the only local agency that can make decisions regarding urban policies and regulations to manage the city at the local level.
- All local urban planning issues are brought to the board's meeting agenda and prioritised for discussion.
- Board members and/or internal committee chairmen are expected, when necessary, to speak to urban planning issues at the board meetings.
- Collective decisions are to be made about the issues represented in the board meetings.
- The board's authority allows it to create urban policies and regulations to enable the board to implement plans, projects, programs, and to achieve its development goals for Jeddah.
- All the board's decisions should work within the national administration frameworks, directions and decisions.

In the end, decisions would be made by the board by voting, and all members' votes would have equal weight. Sub-committees report to the board where decisions are made. In emergencies, only the board chairman may be the sole decision-maker.

These proposals for better coordination, more participation, and greater decentralisation derive from comments reviewed in sections (6.4), (6.5.1.1), (6.5.1.2), and (6.5.1.3).

Figure 7.3 simplifies in a diagram the researcher's suggestions for option 2a to create a metropolitan authority that takes responsibility for planning and managing urban development in Jeddah. The diagram shows how all stakeholders at the local level should be linked to the proposed metropolitan authority. The suggestion here is based on replacing Majlis Al-Mohafazah with this new authority to take a different and bigger role at the local level.

Figure 7.4 on the other hand presents another option (option 2b) for the researcher's suggestions from a middle level perspective of change. The figure shows the proposed arrangements to allow urban development to be managed and planned under one roof in Jeddah. The role proposed for the metropolitan authority would cover and replace both the MC and Majlis Al-Mohafazah roles.

There is always room to add more suggestions to the above option. The researcher in this chapter presents the concepts he believes would serve the aim of providing practical recommendations that could improve the effectiveness of urban planning in Jeddah from a middle-level approach and with respect to the nature of the environment where those recommendations would be implemented. The above suggestions are practical and acceptable within the local context.

Table 7.2: Some of the proposed changes by the metropolitan board arrangements and their major benefits or improvements to some of the themes discussed in Chapter 6

Some of the major proposed changes	Benefits/improvements in the themes discussed in Chapter 6
The highest administrative local authority	Coordination, conflicts of authority
To work within the geographical boundaries of the ‘Mohafazah’	Coordination
The legislative local agency for Jeddah	Coordination, conflicts of authority
All other local agencies including Jeddah municipality would be service agencies	Coordination, conflicts of authority
The board would monitor the local agencies’ performance	Continuity, coordination
The board would be independent and its members would meet regularly	Conflicts of authority, participation
Modifying the proposed changes in the municipal council role	Conflicts of authority
The president of the board would be the Jeddah governor, ‘Al-Mohafiz’	Conflicts of authority
Variety of members (local government agencies, non-government agencies, public, and private sector)	Participation
All board members would have the right to raise, discuss, and make decisions on urban local issues	Participation
Internal committees	Comprehensiveness, continuity and flexibility
A team of administrators and technicians	Resources
Responsible for the urban planning and development process, future city plans, and development programs and monitoring and editing these plans and programs	Continuity and flexibility, participation, coordination, conflicts of authority
Responsibility of coordinating the implementation of development plans, projects and programs	Coordination, continuity and flexibility
Authority to assigning tasks, responsibilities, and budget through local urban agencies to achieve this	Funding and budgeting, coordination, continuity and flexibility
Authority to monitor the implementation according to plans and schedules	Coordination, continuity and flexibility
A city development budget	Funding and budgeting, coordination

Responsibility for preparing and directing the city development budget	Funding and budgeting, coordination
A separate operational budget for the board	Resources
The authority to redirect the city budget and resources in the case of emergency and urgent actions	Flexibility, coordination, conflicts of authority, fund and budgeting
The board would be the only agency responsible for making decisions regarding local development projects and programs approval	Conflicts of authority, coordination, decentralisation
Authority to approve local agencies development projects and programs	Coordination, conflicts of authority
The board would communicate with the central administration to approve and fund the city budget and development program	Decentralisation, coordination
Approval of development projects and programs schedules	Coordination
Assigns responsibilities and tasks among local agencies to implement development projects and programs	Coordination, conflicts of authority, continuity and flexibility
Reporting to the central administration and seek approval for next year's projects	Coordination, decentralisation
Projects implementation prioritising, coordinating, and monitoring	Coordination, continuity and flexibility, decentralisation
Approval of mega private projects	Coordination, participation, and comprehensiveness
The board's authority allows it to collect information to monitor the city and conduct urban studies	Information, continuity and flexibility
Discussion of unexpected or urgent local urban issues	Continuity and flexibility, coordination, conflicts of authority
Immediate action on emergencies	Decentralisation, coordination, flexibility
Availability and access to contingency funding on emergencies	Funding and budgeting, decentralisation, coordination, flexibility
rearrange plans, programs, projects and resources to deal with urgent local urban issues	Continuity and flexibility

Authority to create special committees	Flexibility
Collective decisions are to be made about the issues represented in the board meeting	Participation, coordination
Authority to create urban policies and regulations to enable the board to implement plans, projects, programs, and to achieve its development goals for Jeddah	Participation, coordination, conflicts of authority, comprehensiveness, and continuity
All the board's decisions should work within the national administration frameworks, directions and decisions	Coordination

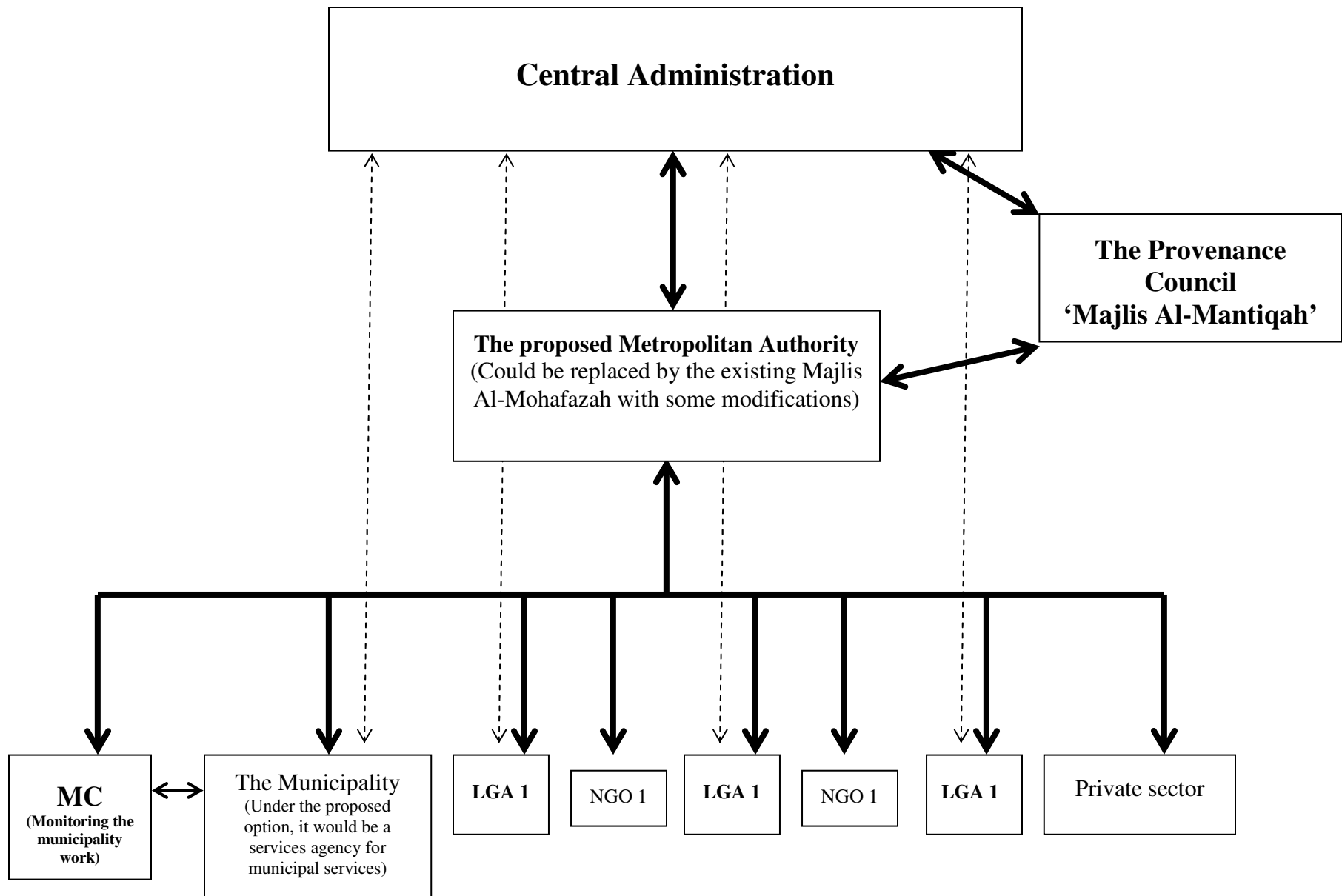


Figure 7.3: Diagram shows the middle level local governance rearrangements with a modified role for the MC (Option 2a)
 MC = Municipal Council, LGA = Local Government Agency, NGO = Non-Governmental Organisation

———— Direct relationship - - - - - Semi-direct relationship (for internal budget)

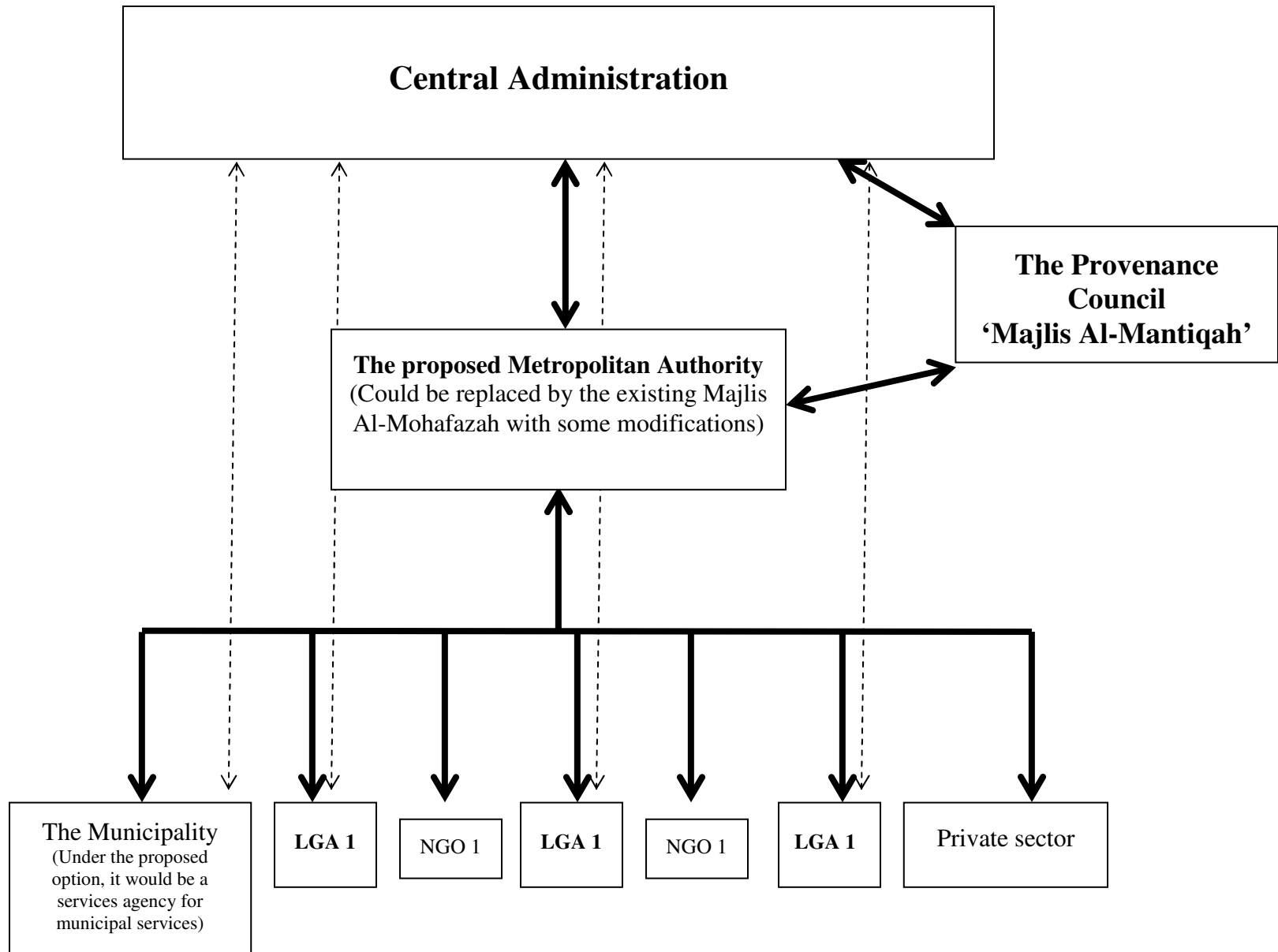


Figure 7.4: Diagram shows the middle level local governance rearrangements without the MC. The MC role would be covered within the responsibilities of the Metropolitan Authority (Option 2b)

MC = Municipal Council, LGA = Local Government Agency, NGO = Non-Governmental Organisation

———— Direct relationship - - - - - Semi-direct relationship (for internal budget)

If the proposed board met with the approval of the central government, then it is proposed it be given an initial five-year term subject to review and possible adjustment in years four and five and if continued with, to a second five-year term. After ten years, if considered that the board had brought great efficiency and effectiveness to the sustainable development of Jeddah, then the board would become a permanent feature of Jeddah's urban governance arrangements. The Jeddah model could be adapted to other Saudi cities, allowing for local circumstances.

7.5 Applications

7.5.1 A more sustainable Jeddah

We finish by returning to examples of the unsustainable nature of large parts of Jeddah described in the Introductory Chapter and consider briefly whether having a reformed municipal council and/or a metropolitan board in place would assist in making the metropolis more sustainable. Would the 'means' we suggest more effectively realise the 'ends' we wish to achieve?

1- Shortage of infrastructure

If the proposed metropolitan board were established, it would determine the priority of projects and related budgets. Ideally, it would take a comprehensive view and seek to move from a project-led development process to one that seeks to better coordinate physical and social infrastructure provision. However, given its composition, it is expected that the proposed board would reflect local needs and priorities too. The

provision of piped water supply and sewerage disposal to all households would be a case in point. Any possible tensions over priorities would have to be resolved by the board members in the first instance, subject to central government reserving the right to intervene if local disputes become inflamed.

2- Illegal development and squatter settlements

If established, the board would manage and direct urban development to desired areas, avoid leap-frog development, minimise the number of new squatter settlements, and incorporate existing ones wherever possible. How it might do this is for the board and its planners to work out. For example, the board would have the power to create urban policies to avoid leap-frog development, to direct urban growth and to correct and improve the situation of squatter settlements. The board would have the authority to report what it considered intransigent landowners – those holding up the more orderly develop of land – to central government.

3- Environmental issues

If the metropolitan board was established and included amongst its members public representatives for all parts of Jeddah, more attention would be given to environmental issues, such as the problems of septic tanks, contaminated soils and groundwater pollution. It is expected that the proposed board would act to solve these problems and raise environmental awareness in future urban planning and development projects and plans.

4- Natural disasters and emergency planning

If the proposed metropolitan board was set up, in the event of floods it would be expected to respond quickly and coordinate the actions of different agencies across the city to avoid unnecessary human and financial loss.

7.5.2 The research as a case study

A case study such as this cannot easily be generalised. As discussed earlier, urban governance models should reflect the nature of the city and this has been attempted above as regards Jeddah's history, recent rapid growth, current arrangements and the highly centralised nature of the kingdom's political system. However, this research case study may be beneficial to other cities in Saudi Arabia, regionally in the Middle East, and globally in some developing countries. Allowing for this, there is some scope for the research findings and recommendations to be adapted to other settings. Below, the researcher suggests how this research case study could be useful:

1- Local level

- Most Saudi cities could adopt the same model of governance to their benefit.

Local social and economical characteristics should be considered.

2- Regional level

Many other Middle Eastern cities have similar characteristics, so could benefit from Jeddah as a case study. However, national and regional governance arrangements in these cities should be considered.

3- Global level

Given Saudi Arabia's unique situation – a centralised political system, sudden wealth and an arid environment – the proposed urban governance model would not travel well. However, the various shortcomings of the planning process would be familiar elsewhere but how to overcome them would need original research and place-specific urban governance arrangements and planning systems.

7.6 Conclusion

Jeddah is an unsustainable city and this research has highlighted the ineffectiveness of the current urban planning system to address this. This failure is linked to the city's and nation's urban governance arrangements. The research recommendations include two practical and realistic suggestions to improve them.

A reformed municipal council represents a procedural change approach with some minimum changes in governance arrangements that may enhance the planning system's effectiveness. A metropolitan board would be a middle level change, an example of new inter-organisational arrangements designed to facilitate better coordination, more participation, greater continuity, increased flexibility, and overall comprehensiveness in Jeddah's planning system.

Singularly, or together, it is argued they would provide a firmer institutional foundation for a more effective planning system in Jeddah with the hope of it becoming a more environmentally, socially and economically sustainable city.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

ACD	A participant from King Abdulaziz University Academics Staff
SP	A senior planner or official from Jeddah Municipality
MCMA	A Municipal Council Member, Appointed
MCME	A Municipal Council Member, Elected
HA	Hectare
Km	Kilometer
Km ²	Squire Kilometer
MC	Municipal Council
MOMRA	Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs

References

- (RMJM), RMJ-M 1973, *Jeddah master plan report*, Ministry of Interior (Municipal Affairs), Riyadh.
- Abdu, M, Salagoor, J & AL-Harigi, F 2002, 'Jeddah Urban Growth and Development process : the underlying factors', *Scientific Journal of King Faisal University*, vol. 3, no. March, pp. 111-35.
- Abdulaal, W 2012, 'Large urban developments as the new driver for land development in Jeddah', *Habitat International*, vol. 36, pp. 36-46.
- Abdulghani, K 1993, 'Jeddah: A study of Metropolitan Change', *Cities*, vol. February, pp. 50-9 Butterworth - Heinemann Ltd. Washington, D.C.
- Abu-Rizaiza, OS 2000, 'Jeddah City with and without Sewerage: Cost Comparison', *Journal of Water Resources Planning and Management*, vol. 126, no. 5, pp. 304-9.
- Agar, MG 1999, 'How to ask for a study in qualitatish', *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 9, pp. 669-81.
- Agar, MH 1996, *The professional stranger* 2edn, Academic Press, San Diego, CA.
- Agranoff, R & McGuire, M 2003, *Collaborative Public Management: new strategies for local governments*, Georgetown University Press, Washington DC.
- Al-Adwani, S 2010, 'Experts: Sea pollution in Jeddah 4 times the global figure and water in precautionary" mixed with sanitation. (In Arabic)', *Al-Madinah*, 19-02-2010.
- Al-Ahmadi, H 2011, 'Challenges facing women leaders in Saudi Arabia', *Human Resources Development International*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 149-66.
- Al-Assaf, N 2004, *The Shura Council in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: parliamentary practice* Iedn, Riyadh (Translated).
- Al-Awaji, I 1989, 'Bureaucracy and development in Saudi Arabia: the case of local administration', in J Jabbara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and development in the Arab world*, EJ Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.
- Al-Awsat, A 2011, 'A Saudi University creat a research chair for the development of slums (In Arabic)', *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 16-10-2011.
- 2012, '45 Million for the tratment of citizens in private hospitals.. And 1500 extra bed to fill the shortage in Jeddah (In Arabic)', *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 26-08-2012.
- Al-Fahad, A 2005, 'Symposium: nation-building in the Middle East: ornamental constitutionalism: the Saudi Basic Law of governance', *Yale Journal of International Law*, vol. 130, no. 2, pp. 375-96.
- Al-Faisal, A 2009, 'Prince Mansour: no postponement from municipal councils', *Al-Madinah (Issue No. 16693, 5 January)*, p. 10.
- Al-Hakim, N 2011, 'Statistics language confirm the decrease in electors and candies numbers', *Okaz (Issue No. 3757, 30 September)* (Accessed Online on 8/11/2011 <http://www.okaz.com.sa/new/Issues/20110930/Con20110930447931.htm>).
- Al-Hathloul, S & Abdel Rahman, M 2003, 'Dynamism of metropolitan areas: The case of metropolitan Dammam, Saudi Arabia', *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, vol. 29, no. 110, pp. 11-43.

- Al-Hathloul, S & Mughal, M 2004, 'Urban growth management-the Saudi experience', *Habitat International*, vol. 28, pp. 609-23.
- Al-Hathloul, S & Mughal, MA 1991, 'City Profile: Jeddah', *Cities*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 267-73.
- Al-Jassem, D 2011, 'Poll monitors to issue final report today', *Arab News (11 October)* (Accessed 7/11/2011 from <http://arabnews.com/saudiarabia/article516222.ece>).
- AL-Jihani, A 2012, 'Assaf: waiting for fund to resolve the groundwater crisis in 18 districts in Jeddah (In Arabic)', *Al-Madinah*, 21-01-2012.
- Al-Khedheiri, AA 2002, *The Role of Secondary Cities in National Development Process of Saudi Arabia*, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- Al-Khtarsh, A 2009, 'Unplanned settlements in Jeddah are a source of pollution (In Arabic)', *Okaz*, 11-12-2009.
- Al-Madinah 2009, 'Slums in Jeddah: 40 Years of greed and cancerous proliferation (In Arabic)', *Al-Madinah*, 27-12-2009.
- Al-Meer, AR 1989, 'Organizational commitment: a comparison of westerners, Asians, and Saudis', *International Studies of Management & Organization*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 74-84.
- Al-Okaili, S 2004a, 'An abridged history of municipal elections in the Kingdom', *Saudi Gazette (28 November)*, p. 4.
- 2004b, 'Why they stopped and why they are being resumed now', *Al-Watan Issue No. 1516 (23 November)*, p. 5.
- AL-Othman, S 2012, 'Details of the stages to dry The Misk Lake in Jeddah', *Al-Marsad*, 10-10-2012.
- Al-Rasheed, M 2007, *Contesting the Saudi state: Islamic voices from a new generation*, Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.
- Al-Shamari, N 2012, 'The health sector in the Kingdom looking for 12 billion riyals to satisfy the need for hospital beds (In Arabic)', *Alyaum*, 12-06-2012.
- Al-Shihri, Z 2012, 'National Water Company: Three Thousand Riyak the cost of sanitation delivery to a house unit (In Arabic)', *Alsharq*, 23-09-2012.
- Alaqili, M 2012, 'Jeddah water crisis return (in Arabic)', *Al-Madina*, 12-3-2012.
- Aleqtisadiyah 2012, '36 billion riyals to support water and sewerage projects over the next 4 years (In Arabic)', *Aleqtisadiyah*, 13-09-2012.
- Alkhalidy, I 2009, *A critical spatial analysis of residential planning in Makkah, Saudi Arabia*, Marshall University.
- Almotairi, TM 1995, 'Administration and organizational structure of Local government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.', in MA Al-Tawiail (ed.), *Public Administration in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, Institute of Public Administration, Riyadh, pp. 153-88.
- Alqarbi, I 2012, 'Reviewers complain of a leak of intensive care beds in Jeddah (In Arabic)', *Okaz*, 20-03-2012.
- Ammoun, C 2006, 'The Institutionalization of the Saudi Political System and the Birth of Political Personnel', in A Khalaf & G Luciani (eds), *Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gulf* Gulf Research Centre, Dubai, pp. 213-40.
- Ansary, AF 2008, 'Combating extremism: a brief overview of Saudi Arabia's approach', *Middle East Policy*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 121-42.

- Athmah, A 2012, 'Jeddah: 30 Sewer pipe turned "blue sea" to dim colors. (In Arabic)', *AL-Madinah*, 06-07-2012.
- Atlanta, GA 1966, 'Wilson Murrow International's Unpublished report to the Municipality of Jeddah. '.
- Baer, WC 1997, 'General plan evaluation criteria: An approach to making better plans', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 329-44.
- Bannan, T 2006, 'The transition from the values of the rule of patriarchal society institutions', *Okaz*, 23/09/2006 Issue No: 1924, p. 4.
- Baxter, K & Akbarzadeh, S 2008, *US foreign policy in the Middle East: The roots of anti-Americanism*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group London.
- Bayumi, TH, M. S. al-Yamani, A. M. Subyani, A. M. al-Dakheel & al-Ahmadi., ME 2000, *Final Report of Analytical Study of Flood Problems and Ground water Rise in the Jeddah District. Project No: 606/418*, King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah.
- Bazoglu, N 2008, 'Cities in transition: demographics and the development of cities', paper presented to United Nations expert group meeting on population distribution, urbanization, internal migration and development, New York, NY.
- BBC 2011 (28 September), *Q&Q Saudi municipal elections*, Accessed 7/11/2011, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15089937>>.
- Beaumont, J, Giersig, N & Heins, G 2006, 'Understanding European Cities: Advancing an integrated framework for analyzing and comparing modes of urban governance', paper presented to ENHR Conference 2006: Housing in an expanding Europe, Ljubljana.
- Benz, A 2004, 'Governance - Modebegriff oder nützliches sozialwissenschaftliches Konzept?', in A Benz (ed.), *Governance - Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen*, Eine Einführung, Wiesbaden (cited:Koch, F & Simmel, G 2007, 'Lost in Transformation? Urban Governance and Urban Development Processes in Post-socialist Warsaw', paper presented to the 2nd International Urban Geographies of Post-communist States workshop, Stockholm.).
- Berry, F, Brower, R, Choi, SO, Goa, WX, Jang, H, Kwon, M & Word, J 2004, 'Three traditions of network research: what the public management research agenda can learn from other research communities', *Public Administration Review*, vol. 65, no. 5, pp. 539-52.
- Bianca, S 2000, *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present*, Taylor and Francis Ltd, London.
- Bin-Baz 2000, *The Constitutional and Political System of Saudi Arabia*, Al-Kharaiji Press, Jeddah.
- Bin Marzog, A 2007, 'Jeddah Water Crisis Back Again (In Arabic)', *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 12-04-2007.
- Birch, E & Wachter, M 2011, *Global Urbanization*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania.
- Booher, D & Innes, J 2002, 'Network power in collaborative planning', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 21, pp. 221-36.
- Bourgeault, IL, Parpia, R & Atanackovic, J 2010, 'Canada's Live-In Caregiver Program: Is it an Answer to the Growing Demand for Elderly Care?', *Journal of Population Ageing*, vol. 3, no. 1-2, pp. 83-102.
- Bryman, A 2008, *Social research methods.*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England.

- Callon, M & Law, J 2004, 'Absent presence: Localities, globalities and methods', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 3-11.
- Charlton, T 2004, 'Natural Experiment', in S Lewis-Beck, A Bryman & T Futing Liao (eds), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, Calif, vol. 1, pp. 712-4.
- Charmaz, K 2006, *Constructing grounded theory : a practical guide through qualitative analysis*, Sage, London.
- 2009, 'Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis', in JA Holstein & JF Gubrium (eds), *Inside interviewing: new lenses, new concerns*, Sage, London
- Choguill, C 2007, 'A survey of Saudi Arabian urban problems', *Journal of King Saud University, Architecture and Planning Division* no. 20.
- Christensen, KS 1999, *Cities and complexity: making intergovernmental decisions*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Corbin, J & Strauss, A 1990, 'Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria', *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 3-21.
- Cordesman, A & Obaid, N 2005, *National Security in Saudi Arabia: Threats, Responses, and Challenges*, Preager Security International, London.
- Costa, FJ & Noble, AG 1986, 'Planning Arab Towns', *Geographical Review*, vol. 76, pp. 160-72.
- Creswell, J 2003, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 2 edn, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Crichlow, S 2002, 'Legislators' Personality Traits and Congressional Support for Free Trade', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 46, no. 5, pp. 693-711.
- Daghestani, A 1993, 'A case study in planning implementation Jeddah, Saudi Arabia', Centre for Research in European Urban Environments, Department of Town and Country Planning, University of Newcastle, Tyne, England., November.
- Daghistani, A 1985, *Urban development and planning*, Ministry of Information, Riyadh.
- 1991, 'Urban growth management in Jeddah', *Planning Outlook*, vol. 34, no. 1.
- Daghistani, AI 1993, 'A CASE STUDY IN PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION JEDDAH, SAUDI ARABIA', paper presented to Centre for Research in European Urban Environments, Department of Town and Country Planning, Working Paper No. 32, November 1993
University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Dawood, M 2012, 'A study recommends the closure of all sources of pollution on Jeddah's coasts. (In Arabic)', *Okaz*, 08-01-2012.
- Dekmejian, R 1998, 'Saudi Arabia's Consultative Council', *Middle East Journal*, vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 204-18.
- Deleuze, G & Foucault, M 1977, 'Intellectuals and power', in M Foucault (ed.), *Language, Countermemory, Practice (trans. Bouchard, D. and Simon, S.)*, Ithaca, New York, pp. 205-17.
- Denters, B 2006, 'Urban Democracy in the Age of Governance', paper presented to Vortrag auf der FUTURE Conference "Urban Governance", Universristy orebro, Schweden.
- Denters, B & Rose, L 2005, 'Local Governance in the Third Millennium: a brave new world?', in B Denters & L Rose (eds), *Comparing Local Governance. Trends and Developments.*, Houndmills.

- Diani, M & McAdam, D (eds) 2003, *Social Movements and Networks: relational approaches to collective action*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Duncan, GO 1987, 'The Planning and Development of the city of Jeddah 1970-1980, PhD Thesis', University of Durham.
- Dunstan, D 1984, *Overning the metropolis : politics, technology and social change in a Victorian city : Melbourne, 1850-1891*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic : Melbourne University Press, 1984.
- Fagotto, E & Fung, A 2006, 'Empowered Participation in Urban Governance: The Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 638-55.
- Felemban, AH 1976, 'Regional physical planning in Saudi Arabia: An evaluation of the Western Region plan and a proposal for a methodology for the Kingdom', University of East Anglia.
- Forester, J 1989, *Planning in the face of power*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Friend, J, Power, J & Yewlett, C 1974, *Public planning: the intercorporate dimension*, Tavistock, London.
- Gamboa, J 2008, 'City Expanding to The Desert Horizon: Riyadh's problem of explosive growth and urban sprawl', *Geography*, p. 554.
- Garba, SB 2004, 'Managing Urban Growth and Development in the Riyadh Metropolitan Area, Saudi Arabia', *Habitat International*, vol. 28, pp. 593-608.
- Gerlach, L & Hine, V 1970, *Pepole, Power, Change: movements of social transformation*, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis.
- Ghazawi, A 2011, 'A plan to cover Jeddah with Sawage Network in 2015. (In Arabic)', *Okaz*, 15-08-2011.
- Giddens, A 2000, *The Third Way and Its Critics*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Glaser, B 1992, *Basics of grounded theory analysis: emergence vs forcing*, Sociology Press, Mill Valley, Ca.
- 1998, *Doing grounded theory: issues and discussions*, Sociology Press, Mill Valley, Ca.
- Glaser, B & Strauss, A 1979, *The discovery of grounded theory : strategies for qualitative research*, Aldine Pub. Co., New York.
- Glasze, G & Alkhayyal, A 2002, 'Gated housing estates in the Arab world: case studies in Lebanon and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia', *Environment and planning A*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 321-36.
- Goetz, JP & LeCompte, MD 1981, 'Ethnographic Research and the Problem of Data Reduction', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 51-70.
- Gove, P & Merriam-Webster, I 1986, *Webster's third new international dictionary of the English language unabridged*, Merriam-Webster, Springfield, Mass., U.S.A.
- Habermas, J 1984, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1, Reason and the rationalisation of society, Beacon Press, Boston (trans. McCarthy, T.).
- 1987, *Theory of Communicative Action*, Lifeworld and system, Beacon Press, Boston (trans. McCarthy, T.).
- Hadath 2009, 'The Misk Lake (In Arabic)', *Hadath*, 12-05-2009.
- Hall, P 1988, *Cities of Tomorrow: an Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Blackwell, Oxford.

- Harpham, T & Boateng, K 1997, 'Urban Governance in Relation to the Operation of Urban Services in Developing Countries', *Habitat International*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 65-77.
- Harvey, D 1989, 'From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the formation of urban governance in late capitalism', *Geografisker Annaler B*, vol. 71, pp. 3-17.
- Healey, P 1992, 'Planning through debate: the communicative turn in planning theory', *Town Planning Review*, vol. 63, no. 2, pp. 143-62.
- 1996, 'The communicative turn in planning theory and its implication for spatial strategy-making', *Environment and planning B: Planning and Design*, vol. 23, pp. 217-34.
- 1997, *Collabrative Planning*, Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- 1998, 'Building institutionl capacity through collaborative approaches to urban planning', *Environment and planning A*, vol. 30, no. 9, pp. 1531-46.
- 1999, 'Institutionalist analysis, communicative planning and shaping places', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 111-22.
- 2003, 'Collaborative planning in perspective', *Planning Theory*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 101-23.
- 2006a, *Collaborative Planning*, 2 edn, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- 2006b, *Collaborative planning:shaping places in fragmented societies*, 2 edn, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York.
- Hillier, J 2002, *shadows of Power: an allegory of prudence in land use planning*, Routledge, London.
- 2003, 'Governance and Strategic Environmental Policy-making in Times of Challenge and Change: the Western Australian Regional Forest Agreement', *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 251-69.
- 2007, *Stretching Beyond the Horizon: A Multiplanar Theory of Spatial Planning Governance*, Ashgate, Hampshire.
- Hoch, C 1994, *What planners do : power, politics and persuasion*, Planners ; American Planning Association, Chicago.
- Hurmerinta-Poltomaki, L & Nummela, N 2004, 'First The Suggar, Then the Eggs... Or the Other Way Round?: Mixing Methods in International Business Research', in R Marschan-Piekkari & C Welch (eds), *Handbook of qualitative research methods for international business*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.
- Innes, J 1995, 'Planning theory's emerging paradigm: communicative action and interactive practice', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 183-90.
- 2004, 'Consensus building: clarification for the critics', *Planning Theory*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 5-20.
- Innes, J & Booher, D 1999a, 'Consensus building and complex adaptive systems: a framework for evaluating collabrative planning', *Journal of the American Planning Assocation*, vol. 65, no. 4, pp. 412-23.
- 1999b, 'Consensus building as role playing and bricolage: toward a theory of collaborative planning', *Journal of the American Planning Assocation*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 9-26.

- 2000, 'Planning institutions in the network society: theory for collaborative planning', in W Salet & A Faludi (eds), *The Revival of Strategic Spatial Planning*, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam, pp. 175-89.
- Jackson, J 2009, 'Neo-liberal or Third Way? What Planners from Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto Say', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 397-417.
- JMC (Jeddah Municipal Council) (website), accessed on 8/11/2011, <from <http://96.44.161.78/2010-07-19-09-14-43/functions-of-the-municipal-council.html>>.
- John, P 2001, *Local Governance in Western Europe*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Kapiszewski, A 2006, *Elections and parliamentary activity in the GCC states: Broadening political participation in the gulf monarchies*, Gulf research Centre, Dubai.
- Kéchichian, J 2008, *Power and succession in Arab monarchies: a reference guide*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, CO.
- Knaap, G 1985, 'The price effects of urban growth boundaries in metropolitan Portland, Oregon', *Land Economics*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 26-35.
- Koch, F & Simmel, G 2007, 'Lost in Transformation? Urban Governance and Urban Development Processes in Post-socialist Warsaw', paper presented to the 2nd International Urban Geographies of Post-communist States workshop, Stockholm.
- Konash, Mea 1984, *The Planning of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia*, King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals, Dammam, Saudi Arabia.
- Kubbara, F 1994, 'A study of Environmental Pollution in Jiddah Using Geographic Information System (In Arabic)', paper presented to The fifth Geographical Symposium for Geographic Dept In Saudi University, Riyadh, April 1994.
- Kvale, S & Brinkmann, S 2009, *InterViews : learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing* Sage Publications, Los Angeles.
- LeCompte, MD, Schensul, JJ, Weeks, MR & Singer, M 1999, *Researcher roles & research partnerships*, AltaMira, Walnut Creek, CA.
- Leech, BL 2002, 'Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews', *PS: Political Science and Politics*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 665-8.
- Liamputtong, P 2009, *Qualitative research methods*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Linjawi, H 2006, 'Societies in transformation Iran and Saudi Arabia', Ph.D Thesis, Howard University.
- Makhlouf, A 1985, "Al-Darasat al-Mraniah, al-Shamilh li-Madinat Jeddah min 1378 la 1383 H", (*The Comprehensive Urban Studies for Jeddah City from 1378 to 1383H (1959-1963)*). A report prepared for the Ministry of Municipalities and Rural Affairs, Jeddah Municipality, Jeddah.
- Mandeli, KN 2008, 'The realities of integrating physical planning and local management into urban development: A case study of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia', *Habitat International*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 512-33.
- May, T 2001, *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*, 3rd edn, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Mayntz, R 2004, 'Governance Theory als fortentwickelte Steuerungstheorie?', paper presented to MPIfG, Mürz (cited: Koch, F & Simmel, G 2007, 'Lost in Transformation? Urban Governance and Urban Development Processes in Post-socialist Warsaw', paper presented to the 2nd International Urban Geographies of Post-communist States workshop, Stockholm.).

- Mayntz, R & Scharpf, F 1995, *Gesellschaftliche Selbstregelung und politische Steuerung.*, Frankfurt am Main (cited: Koch, F & Simmel, G 2007, 'Lost in Transformation? Urban Governance and Urban Development Processes in Post-socialist Warsaw', paper presented to the 2nd International Urban Geographies of Post-communist States workshop, Stockholm.).
- McAdam, D, Tarrow, S & Tilly, C 2001, *Dynamics of contention*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- McGill, R 1998, 'Viewpoint. Urban Management in Developing countries', *Cities*, vol. 15, no. 6, pp. 463-71.
- Melucci, A 2000, 'Social movements in complex societies', *Arena Journal*, vol. 15, pp. 81-99.
- Miller, L & Smith, K 1983, 'Handling Nonresponse Issues', *journal of extension*, vol. 21, no. 5, pp. 45-50.
- MOF 1992, *National Population Census*, Ministry of Finance, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- MOP 2000, *Seventh Development Plan 2000-2005*, Ministry of Planning, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- Mrishid, S 2007, 'Jeddah suffer from a water shortage (in Arabic)', *Alriyadh*, 30-10-2007.
- Mubararak, F 2004, 'Urban growth boundary policy and residential suburbanization: Riyadh, Saudi Arabia', *Habitat International*, vol. 28, pp. 567-91.
- Municipality, J 1987, *The Existing Condition Report*, Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah.
- 2004, *Statistics Book*, ----, Jeddah Municipality.
- 2005, *Statistics Book*, The Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah.
- 2007, *Statistics Book*, ----, Jeddah Municipality.
- 2008, *Statistics Book*, The Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah.
- 2009, *Jeddah Strategic Plan*, ----, Jeddah Municipality.
- 2010, *Statistics Book*, The Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah.
- Narang, S 2004, 'Revisiting Urban Planning at the second World Urban Forum in Barcelona ', *Habitat Debate*, vol. 10, no. 4 *A Future for Urban Planning* p. 10.
- Narang, S & Reutersward, L 2005, 'Improved governance and sustainable urban development Strategic planning holds the key', paper presented to The Nordic Symposium on Local Authority Planning in Change, Uppsala, August.
- Pesce, A 1974, *Jiddah portrait of an arabian city*, Falcon Press, London.
- Pierre, J 2005, 'Comparative Urban Governance', *Urban Affairs Review*, vol. 40, no. 4.
- Pollack, J 2002, 'Saudi Arabia and the United States, 1931-2002', *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 77-102.
- Rahmaan, A 2003, 'Optimising the performance of environmental planners and designers in Saudi society', *Journal of King Abdulaziz University Engineering*, vol. 1, pp. 3-23.
- Rakodi, C 2001, 'Forget planning, put politics first? Priorities for urban management in developing countries', *International Journal of Applied Earth Observation and Geoinformation*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 209-23.
- REDF 1998, *Annual Report on Housing Loans*, Real Estate Development Fund, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
- Roobal, J, N. Arab, M. al-Rehaili, A. al-Mishali & Bankher., K 1992, *Sewage Dumping East of Jeddah. Technical Report DGMR-TR-92-5*, Directorate General of Mineral Resources, Jeddah.

- Rubin, HJ & Rubin, IS 2005, *Qualitative interviewing : the art of hearing data* 2edn, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Calif.
- Saati, A 2012, 'No.. It is not true Doctor (In Arabic)', *Okaz*, 03-04-2012.
- Saldana, J 2009, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, Sage Publications Ltd, London.
- Salet, W, Thornley, A & Kreukels, A 2003, 'Institutional and spatial coordination in European metropolitan regions', in WT Salet, A.; and Kreukels, A. (ed.), *Metropolitan Governance and Spatial Planning: comparative case studies of European city-regions*, Spon Press, London.
- Schuppert, G 2006, 'Governance im Spiegel der Wissenschaftsdisziplinen. ', in G Schuppert (ed.), *Governance-Forschung. , Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien.*, Baden-Baden (cited:Koch, F & Simmel, G 2007, 'Lost in Transformation? Urban Governance and Urban Development Processes in Post-socialist Warsaw', paper presented to the 2nd International Urban Geographies of Post-communist States workshop, Stockholm.).
- Sharan, M 2002, *Qualitative research in practice : examples for discussion and analysis*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, Calif.
- Shraiah, A 2011, 'Jeddah... A Saudi city third of its population live in slums (In Arabic)', *Asharq Al-Awsat*, 07-08-2011.
- Simpson, F & Chapman, M 1999, 'Comparison of urban governance and planning policy: East looking West', *Cities*, vol. 16, no. 5, pp. 353–64.
- Soliman, M 2010, 'Sustainable development: between piecemeal urban-based conservation: a case study of Jeddah', *International Journal of Academic Research*, vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 284-91.
- Strauss, A & Corbin, J 1990, *Basics of qualitative research : grounded theory procedures and techniques* Sage Publications, Newbury Park, Calif. .
- Talaat, W 2008, *Prince Sultan: Saudi beyond the planning stage to expand political and economic participation*, Al-Riyadh Newspaper (4 June), Accessed 26/10/2011, <<http://www.alriyadh.com/2008/06/04/article347901.html>>.
- Tarazi, AM 1993, 'Saudi Arabia's new Basic Laws: the struggle for participatory Islamic government', *Harvard International Law Journal*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 258-75.
- Tarrow, S 1994, *Power in movement*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Taylor, P 2004, 'Planning for better future', *Habitat Debate*, vol. 10, no. 4 *A Future for Urban Planning* pp. 4-5.
- Teitelbaum, J 2001, *The rise and fall of the Hashimite kingdom of Arabia*, C. Hust & Co, London.
- Tilly, C 1978, *From Mobilisation to revolution*, Addison-Wesley, Reading.
- Tomlinson, H 2007, 'Riyadh increases King Abdulaziz airport capacity to 80 million', *Middle East Economic Digest*.
- Treib, O, Bahr, H & Falkner, G 2007, 'Modes of governance: towards a conceptual clarification', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 14, no. 1.
- UN-HABITAT 2002, *Global Campaign on Urban Governance: Concept Paper*, 2 edn, UN-HABITAT, Nairobi.
- UN 2005, *World Population Prospects: The 2005 Revision (the executive summary of the report)*, United Nations, DESA, Population Division 1

http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/WUP2005/2005WUPHighlights_Exec_Sum.pdf Accessed: 2-12-2011

- 2008, *State of the world's cities, 2008/2009: harmonious cities*, New York NY.
- UNHABITAT 2012, *The State of Arab Cities 2012: A comprehensive analysis of the urbanization process in the Arab States*, United Nations Center to Human Settlements, Nairobi.
- Vall, M 2011, *Low turnout in Saudi Arabia's local polls*, 22 October edn, *Al Jazeera*, Accessed 7/11/2011, < <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/middleeast/2011/09/20119298149855126.html>>.
- Vincent, P 2003, 'Jeddah's Environmental Problems', *Geographical Review*, vol. 93, no. 3, pp. 394-412.
- Webb, D 2003, 'Introduction' to Serres, M. 'The science of relations: an interview' (trans. Toscano, A.)', *Journal of Theoretical Humanities*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 227-8.
- Wengraf, T 2001, *Qualitative research interviewing : biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*, Sage, London.
- Whitson, S 2011, *Saudi Arabia: women to vote, join Shura Council*, (26 September) *Human Rights Watch*, Accessed 7 November 2011, <<http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/09/26/saudi-arabia-women-vote-join-shura-council>>.
- Wikipedia 2009, *The Free Encyclopedia*, Wikimedia Foundation Inc., Accessed on 22 July 2009, <http://pnb.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jeddah,_Saudi_Arabia_locator_map.png>.

Appendix A

Research questions

Below is a list of the main research questions the researcher used to guide the substructures interviews he conducted in the research:

- 5- What is your opinion of the existing urban situation of Jeddah?
- 6- What do you think are the causes of this situation?
- 7- What is your opinion of the old urban planning system/process in Jeddah?
- 8- What were the negatives and positives of the old system/process?
- 9- What do you think about the establishment of the municipal council in Jeddah?
- 10- What is your opinion on the current system/process?
- 11- How has this decision influenced the urban planning and development process, and does it solve the previously discussed problems?
- 12- How could the effectiveness of the urban planning system in Jeddah improved?